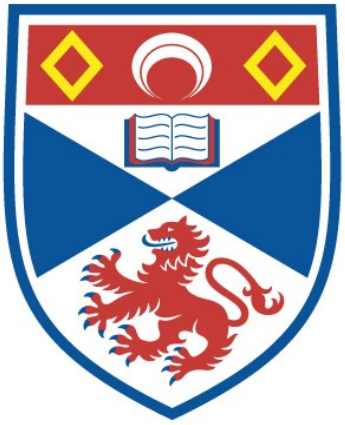
JEWISH-CHRISTIAN AND GNOSTIC ELEMENTS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

Richard Earl Taylor

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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JEWISH-CHRISTIAN AND GNOSTIC ELEMENTS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

Being a Thesis

Presented by

RICHARD EARL TAYLOR

to the

University of St. Andrews

In Application

for the Degree of

Ph. D.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following thesis is based on the results of research carried out by me, that it is my own composition, and that it has not been previously presented for a Higher Degree.

The research was carried out in the University of St. Andrews, St. Mary's College, from October, 1958, to May, 1961, except the period from June through August, 1959, during which the research was carried out at the University of Utrecht.

CERTIFICATE

I certify that Richard Earl Taylor has spent ten terms at research work in St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, and one term research work at the University of Utrecht, that he has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinance No. 16 (St. Andrews), and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis in application for the degree of Ph. D.

CAREER

I matriculated at the University of California, Berkeley, California, in September, 1951, and followed a course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts until June, 1955. I then matriculated at the California Baptist Theological Seminary, Covina, California, in September, 1955, and followed a course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity until May, 1958.

In October, 1958, I commenced the research on Jewish-Christian and Gnostic Elements in the New Testament Apocrypha, which is now being submitted as a Ph. D. thesis.

PREFACE

In this study I have used the term "apocrypha" to refer simply to the New Testament apocrypha. This is to avoid undue repetition. Old Testament apocrypha and pseudepigrapha I have normally referred to as Jewish apocrypha. Citations of ancient writers use the numbering systems of the editions named first in the bibliography, even when I follow a different edition. Citations of the Apocalypse of Peter give both the paragraph number from the translation in Hennecke, Neutestamentliche Apokryphen (second edition), and the page number of the translation in James, The Apocryphal New Testament. Biblical citations follow the numbering of the English Bible, even when I am referring specifically to the LXX or to the Hebrew.

The footnotes indicate the written sources I have used, but oral discussions have proved valuable at many points. My advisor, Dr. R. McL. Wilson, gave helpful suggestions during every stage of the work. The seminars conducted by Principal M. Black proved enlightening at many points, as did my short visits with Professors Quispel and van Unnik at Utrecht. Dr. Zandee

of Utrecht University also gave me helpful and patient tutoring in Coptic.

R. E. T.

Oakland, California
October, 1961

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ABBREVIATIONS

This list does not include abbreviations of the books of the Bible. Abbreviations of patristic and other ancient works not listed here should be self-explanatory. For editions used and bibliographic data see the bibliography.

Aa	Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*.
AAn (Greg)	*Acts of Andrew* as given in Gregory of Tours, *Liber de miraculis beati Andreae apostoli*.
AAn (Gk 808)	*Acts of Andrew* contained in the Vatican Ms. Greek 808.
AAnMatt	*Acts of Andrew and Matthias*.
Abdias	Abdias, *Historiae apostolicae*.
AJn	*Acts of John*
Ap & Ps	R. H. Charles, ed., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*.
APa	*Acts of Paul*.
APaThec	*Acts of Paul and Thecla*.
APe	*Acts of Peter*.
APeAn	*Acts of Peter and Andrew*.
APePa	*Acts of Peter and Paul*.
APh	*Acts of Philip*.
API	*Acts of Pilate*.
ApJn	*Apocryphon of John*.

Apk. Apg.	R. A. Lipsius, Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden.
ApMos	Apocalypse of Moses.
ApocNT	M. R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament.
Apok 1 [2]	E. Hennecke, ed., Neutestamentliche Apokryphen, 1st [2nd] ed.
Apok 3	Hennecke-Schneemelcher, ed., Neutestamentliche Apokryphen, 3rd ed., I: Evangelien.
ApPa	Apocalypse of Paul.
ApPe	Apocalypse of Peter.
ApzNT	W. Michaelis, Die apokryphen Schriften zum Neuen Testament.
Asc. Isa.	Ascension of Isaiah.
Ass. Mos.	Assumption of Moses.
ATho	Acts of Thomas.
B.	Babylonian Talmud.
Barnabas	Epistle of Barnabas.
BoRe	Book of the Resurrection by Bartholomew the Apostle.
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.
Clem.	Pseudo-Clementine.
Const. Ap.	Apostolic Constitutions.
Copt	Coptic.
III Cor 1 [2]	III Corinthians, the letter from Corinth to Paul [letter from Paul to Corinth].

CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
Dam. Doc.	Damascus Document (Zadokite fragments).
Desc.	Descent into Hell (Gospel of Nicodemus, part II).
I [II, III] En.	I [II, III] Enoch.
EpAp	Epistle of the Apostles.
Ep. Diog.	Epistle to Diognetus.
Eth	Ethiopic
Evangelia	C. Tischendorf, Evangelia apocrypha, 2nd ed.
Evangelios	A. de Santos Otero, Los evangelios apocrifos.
EvBarth	Gospel of Bartholomew.
EvEb	Gospel of the Ebionites.
EvEg	Gospel of the Egyptians.
EvHe	Gospel of the Hebrews.
EvMar	Gospel of Mary.
EvPe	Gospel of Peter.
EvPh	Gospel of Philip.
EvTho	Gospel of Thomas.
EvTr	Gospel of Truth.
Exc. Theod.	Excerpta de Theodoto.
ExpT	Expository Times.

GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte.
Gk	Greek.
Handb.	E. Hennecke, ed., Handbuch zu den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen.
HE	Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History.
Heb	Hebrew.
Hermas	The Shepherd of Hermas.
HiJos	History of Joseph the Carpenter.
HTR	Harvard Theological Review.
Hyp. Arch.	Hypostasis of the Archons.
Inf. Tho.	Infancy Gospel of Thomas.
J.	Jerusalem Talmud.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature.
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History.
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review.
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies.
Jub	Book of Jubilees.
Lat	Latin.
LXX	Septuagint.
M.	Mishna.
MAn	Martyrdom of Andrew.
MMatt	Martyrdom of Matthew.
MPa	Martyrdom of Paul.

MPe	Martyrdom of Peter.
MSteph	Martyrdom of Stephen.
NT	New Testament.
NTS	New Testament Studies.
OrWor	Origin of the World.
OT	Old Testament.
PG	Migne, Patrologia cursus completus, Series Graecae.
PL	Migne, Patrologia cursus completus, Series Latina.
PO	Patrologia Orientalis.
P. Ox.	Oxyrhynchus papyri.
Prot	Protevangelium of James.
Ps-Matt.	Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew.
Ps. Sol.	Psalms of Solomon.
R.	(1) Midrash Rabbah. (2) Rabbi.
RB	Revue biblique.
REJ	Revue des études juives.
RGG	Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.
SC	Sources chrétiennes.
Sib. Or.	Sibylline Oracles.
SJC	Sophia Jesu Christi.
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology.
Str-B	Strack and Billerbeck, Kommentar zum

	Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch.
T.	Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.
T & St	Cambridge Texts and Studies.
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung.
Tos.	Tosephta.
TR	Bonservin, Textes rabbiniques des deux premiers siècles chrétiens.
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen.
TWNT	Kittel, ed., Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament.
VC	Vigilia Christianae.
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
ZNW	Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche.
ZRGG	Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte.
ZTK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In a period of less than two hundred years a widespread religious community, almost wholly Gentile, developed from a small Jewish group of Nazarenes. The New Testament and the church fathers indicate some of the main lines of that development, but numerous dark spots have frustrated attempts to draw a complete picture.

F. C. Baur was the first scholar in modern times to attempt a unified presentation of early Christian history. He saw the beginnings of the catholic church in a synthesis between two opposing tendencies: that of Pauline Hellenism and that of primitive Jewish Christianity.[1] According to Baur only the Ebionites--condemned as heretics by the catholic church--faithfully retained the views of the original Jewish-Chris-

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[1] F. C. Baur, Das Christenthum und die christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhundert (Tübingen, 1853), pp. 41-158. For a modern summary cf. L. Goppelt, Christentum und Judentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert (Gütersloh, 1954), pp. 4f. Cf. also Baur, Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1866-67).

tian community.[1] Baur's work has greatly influenced scholars from his day until the present; although his theory has been modified at specific points the basic conception has remained.[2]

Baur felt that Gnosticism, as it developed within the church, took three forms: one close to Hellenistic thought, one close to Christianity, and one close to Judaism.[3] A. Harnack emphasized only the first of these; he viewed catholicism as a Hellenising of Jewish

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[1]Baur, Das Christenthum, p. 157.

[2]Cf. J. Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind (London, 1959), pp. 69f. Baur was not the first to make this emphasis; cf. J. Toland, Nazarenus, or, Jewish, Gentile, and Mahametan Christianity (London, 1718). For developments from Baur to Harnack cf. W. G. Kümmel, Das Neue Testament: Geschichte der Erforschung seiner Probleme (Freiburg-München, 1958), pp. 201-30, and the summary of various views in G. Hoennicke, Das Judenchristentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert (Berlin, 1908), pp. 1-17. For modern statements of views not unlike Baur's cf. H. J. Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums (Tübingen, 1949), and note the criticisms of this work by W. G. Kümmel, "Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums," Studia Theologica, 3 (1949), 188-94; Schoeps answered these criticisms in Urgemeinde, Judenchristentum, Gnosis (Tübingen, 1956). See also H. Lietzmann, Geschichte der alten Kirche, I (2nd ed., Berlin-Leipzig, 1937), 184-99.

[3]F. C. Baur, Die christliche Gnosis oder die christliche Religions-Philosophie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwiklung (Tübingen, 1835), pp. 108-21.

Christianity and Gnosticism as an acute Hellenising of Christianity.[1] To both men Jewish Christianity, Gnosticism, and Catholicism represented three distinct, separate, and opposed groups in the early church. Whatever precise modifications of that understanding became necessary, scholars continued to feel that early opposition between Jewish and Hellenistic Christians greatly affected the development of the catholic church and that the catholics vigorously opposed the extremists on both sides. This view of the development of the church has remained a determining factor in discussions of Jewish Christianity.

Anyone who understood Gnosticism as related to Hellenism usually saw the second-century church as composed primarily of Gnostics, Jewish Christians, and catholics. Even when Gnostic origins were sought in Egyptian or Iranian thought[2] the division of Christianity into three opposed factions did not change.

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[1] A. Harnack, History of Dogma (London, 1896-99), I, 226f.

[2] See the bibliography in F. Sagnard, La gnose valentinienne et le témoignage de saint Irénée (Paris, 1947), pp. 27ff.

The opposing groups were still seen to be Jewish Christians, catholics, and Gnostics. Church history for the first three centuries consisted largely of a record of developments within these groups and of opposition between one group and another.

This conception of history led scholars to assign each of the New Testament writings to one or another of the opposing factions. Discussions of post-apostolic writings centred about the questions of which group produced them and which group they were directed against. With the emphasis upon the opposition among these three groups scholars tended to regard nearly every writing as a tendency piece propagating the views of one's own party or combatting those of opponents.

Modern study has shown that this view of the early church is not adequate and that Baur's reconstruction was at times misleading;[1] where this view affected studies of the New Testament apocrypha one may question some of the conclusions reached. Research into the origins of various apocryphal works proceeded largely on the assumption that each had come from one

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[1]Cf. Munck, op. cit., pp. 69-86 et passim.

of the three primary groups. Because of the opposition among Jewish Christians, Gnostics, and catholics, a writing reflecting the teachings of one group could be presumed to have originated nowhere else. Sympathy toward Jews, an understanding of Judaism, or affinity with Jewish legends betrayed a Jewish-Christian author; docetism, antinomianism, and speculative traits indicated a Gnostic. Anti-Jewish polemic could come from either catholics or Gnostics.

But these tests proved difficult in practice, for the same work often betrayed affinities with more than one of the three groups. The Protevangelium of James, for example, was considered Gnostic by some and Jewish Christian by others.[1] Scholars could regard it as a catholic answer to pagan and Jewish arguments against Christianity[2] or as a work directed partly against Jewish Christians who denied the doctrine of the

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[1]Prot. was considered Gnostic by K. F. Borberg, Bibliothek der neu-testamentlichen Apokryphen, I (Stuttgart, 1841), 11. For the various positions held cf. É. Amann, Le Protévangile de Jacques et ses remaniements latins (Paris, 1910), pp. 77-100.

[2]J. Variot, Les évangiles apocryphes (Paris, 1878), pp. 165ff.

virgin birth.[1] Discussions about the pseudo-Clementines led some to consider them Ebionite while others considered them catholic.[2] When a writer recognised that a work contained elements from more than one of the groups he had to postulate an individual subjected to propaganda from an opposing party[3] or assume an origin within one group followed by redaction in another.[4] While the view persisted that Christianity consisted primarily of three fairly well-defined groups, each opposed to the others, such discussions could come to no single satisfactory conclusion.

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[1] L. van Cleef and C. P. Hofstede de Groot, De apocryfe evangeliën naar de nieuwste uitgaven van C. Tischendorf (Amsterdam, 1867), pp. 10f.

[2] Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums, p. 58 et passim, considered the pseudo-Clementines Ebionite and anti-Gnostic. J. Chapman, "On the Date of the Clementines," ZNW 9 (1908), 149ff., argued that they were not Ebionite but were written by a nominal catholic. For the various positions advanced cf. G. Strecker, Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen (Berlin, 1958), pp. 1-34.

[3] Van Cleef and Hofstede de Groot, op. cit., p. 45.

[4] R. A. Lipsius, Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden (Braunschweig, 1883-90), I, 60f.; cf. also M. R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament (Oxford, 1924), p. 14.

But discussions about the apocrypha were not the only indication that this conception was basically wrong. The doctrines of early heretics also showed affinities with both Jewish Christianity and Gnosticism and writers who considered the two groups diametrically opposed had to note that fact.[1] But scholars still preferred to retain their understanding of catholicism, Gnosticism, and Jewish Christianity as separate and opposed to each other, constantly reacting against each other and merging only in exceptional circumstances. The contradictory conclusions reached in the study of the apocrypha showed that this understanding had grave defects. A different approach to the question of Jewish-Christian and Gnostic elements in the apocrypha was required. And other factors also indicate the necessity to discard this point of view before examining the apocrypha.

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[1] Although Schoeps, op. cit., p. 325, considered the term "gnostischen Ebionitismus" a "suspecten Namen," he felt that it was the only apt description of the Elkesaites; cf. also W. Bauer, Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum (Tübingen, 1934), pp. 92f. J. Thomas, Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie (Gembloux, 1935), p. 169, felt that the Ebionites were later affected by the Gnostic movement.

First, note that for much of the early church very little is known. The Gospels give evidence that Jesus had followers in Judea, Galilee, Samaria, and Perea; yet the book of Acts presents the church only as it developed from those in Jerusalem. At Pentecost men from throughout the known world heard the Gospel, and some of them must have brought Christianity back to their home countries. Harnack long ago complained of the lack of evidence concerning Christianity in Egypt;[1] both Gnostic and Jewish-Christian forms of Christianity have been considered the earliest Christianity in Egypt, and the earliest evidence points to the presence of both.[2]

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[1] A. Harnack, The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries (London, 1904-05), II, 304f. For a more recent statement cf. M. Cramer, Das christliche-koptische Ägypten Einst und Heute (Wiesbaden, 1959), p. 3. Recent studies have not significantly increased knowledge of Egyptian Christianity in the early period; cf. H. I. Bell, Jews and Christians in Egypt (London, 1924), and idem, "Evidences in Egypt," HTR 37 (1944), 185-208.

[2] Cf. Bauer, op. cit., pp. 49-64; Harnack, op. cit., II, 304-07; R. A. Markus, "Pleroma and Fulfillment," VC 8 (1954), 195f.; G. Quispel, "Ursprünge der Gnosis," Studium Generale, 11 (1958), 762; S. G. F. Brandon, The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church (London, 1957), p. 178; J. Daniélou, Théologie du judéo-christianisme (Paris, 1958), pp. 18f.

The same is true to some extent for Syria; there is little information about the early period of the Syrian church, and some indications point to the presence of both Gnosticism and Jewish Christianity.[1] It seems that Egypt and Syria had a number of common ties, in these and in other respects.[2] The fact that the church fathers give little information about Syrian and Egyptian churches may imply that the dominant forms of Christianity there were neither strictly orthodox nor definitely heretical.[3] Until more is known of the

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[1]On the Syrian church cf. Harnack, op. cit., II, 278. Ignatius' letters apparently opposed both Jewish-Christian and Gnostic tendencies, although E. Molland, "The Heretics combatted by Ignatius of Antioch," JEH 5 (1954), 1-6, denied any true Judaising tendency among Ignatius' opponents. The Odes of Solomon and EvPh represent both tendencies. Gnostic influence in Syria is evident from the association with Antioch of Menander (Justin, I Apol. 26) and Saturnilus (Hippolytus, Elench. 7.28).

[2]The Ophites, related to Judaism at some points, were connected both with Syria and with Egypt; cf. Goppelt, op. cit., pp. 193f. Of Menander's followers Saturnilus and Basilides, the former worked in Syria and the latter in Egypt (Hippolytus, Elench. 7.27f.; HE 4.7.3).

[3]Bauer, op. cit., p. 63, said that the silence concerning Egypt resulted from the fact that Egyptian Christianity was originally unorthodox. H. E. W. Turner, The Pattern of Christian Truth (London, 1954), p. 59, challenged this, but Turner possibly went beyond

early development of Christianity, one must avoid thinking of the early church as composed of any finite number of distinct sects.

Writers of the last century were strongly influenced by a view of orthodoxy as a fixed deposit of faith; but since Harnack the emphasis has been more upon the diversity and fluidity of early Christian thought.[1] In the early days of Christianity belief and experiences could have been expressed in many ways; only later did the church make precise definitions of its faith.[2] Consequently only the passage of time could transform groups of Christians with common doctrinal tendencies into well-defined sects. What finally became orthodoxy resulted from a "cross-fertilization of independent

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the scanty evidence available; cf. W. C. van Unnik, "The Origin of the Recently Discovered 'Apocryphon Jacobi,'" VC 10 (1956), p. 150.

[1]Turner, op. cit., p. 25; for a different emphasis cf. R. Bultmann, Theologie des Neuen Testaments (Tübingen, 1948-53), pp. 473-86.

[2]Turner, op. cit., p. 474: "All the major doctrines of orthodoxy were lived devotionally as part of the corporate experience of the Church before their theological development became a matter of urgent necessity."

theological traditions";[1] the same process must have produced a complex array of heresies or near-heresies at the fringe of the emerging catholic church. This fluidity within the early church makes it often precarious to classify an apocryphal writing as the product of some one particular sect.

The writings of the time were not simply propaganda works directed against opposing sects; they were often attempts to express in concrete forms the faith of the church, to order and interpret events and teachings accepted by nearly all Christians. Apocryphal writings came from individuals with many complex and half-developed notions about the Christian faith, and from men who had no intention of convincing their readers that their views were the only correct ones.

First-century Judaism also contained a great variety of beliefs, and some of this variety carried over into Jewish Christianity. Early Christian writers mentioned a number of Jewish sects; the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has also demonstrated the complexity of Judaism. It is impossible to conceive of Judaism as

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[1] Ibid., p. 477.

consisting only of Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes before A. D. 70 and only of Pharisees after that date. Baptist sects of one kind or another were fairly common in Palestine,[1] and there were other groups with doctrines and practices peculiar to themselves.

In Palestine Jewish leaders tolerated a great many differences in theology and practice; Jews did not have to accept any particular set of dogmas.[2] Jewish practices in Galilee differed in many ways from those in Judea.[3] The Samaritans, who had followed their own course for centuries, also contributed to the variety of thought in early Christianity.[4] Outside Palestine, Jews were subject to varying influences according to

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[1]Cf. Thomas, op. cit.

[2]E. Stauffer, Jerusalem und Rom im Zeitalter Jesu Christi (Bern, 1957), p. 113: "Die jüdische Religion hat keine Dogmen. Es kann darum in der jüdischen Welt auch keine Irrlehrer oder Irrgläuben im dogmatischen Sinn geben."

[3]Cf. G. Dalman, Sacred Sites and Ways: Studies in the Topography of the Gospels (London, 1935), pp. 6ff.

[4]Cf. M. Gaster, The Samaritans: their History, Doctrines, and Literature (London, 1925), p. 38: "[The Samaritans] proved a ready soil for the growth of many of the dissenting movements and sectarian developments" after A. D. 130.

where they lived and sometimes differed a great deal from one another in both practice and belief. Jewish Christians could have come from any of these various streams within first-century Judaism, and they could have reflected that diversity in their understanding of Christianity. This fact affects the study of the apocrypha, for it indicates that even when the ideas in an apocryphal work reflect some form of Jewish Christianity the work cannot necessarily be considered the product of one well-defined sect.

Some Jewish Christians retained Jewish rites (e.g. circumcision and Sabbath observance) but did not differ from other Christians on central doctrinal issues.[1] It is possible that these Jewish Christians retained some influence in the Church even after Christianity became predominantly Gentile. If so, Jewish-Christian beliefs and attitudes could have influenced Gentile writers of apocryphal works--especially writers without well-defined attitudes toward theological ques-

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[1] Epiphanius, Pan. 29.7.5 (of the Nazoraeans): "They differ from Christians, as from Jews, in only one point; disagreeing with the Jews concerning faith in Christ, differing from Christians by being still fettered to the law, circumcision, the Sabbath, etc."

tions. Consequently, an apocryphal book can not be called Jewish-Christian or anti-Jewish-Christian solely on the basis of a few hints in one direction or the other.

Gnosticism, which contained an extremely complex set of ideas and practices, seems to have had some striking affinities with Judaism.[1] But if there were affinities between Judaism and Gnosticism, there may also have been affinities between Gnosticism and Jewish Christianity. In that case Jewish Christianity and Gnosticism would not always differ but may have overlapped in some areas.[2] In such areas it is impossible to assign heterodox elements in the apocrypha definitely to one group or the other.

The discovery of a Gnostic library at Nag Hammadi has accentuated the variety of thought within

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[1] See below, pp. 31-37.

[2] Schoeps overlooked this possibility when he concluded that the pseudo-Clementines were not Gnostic but anti-Gnostic (Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums, passim, and Urgemeinde, Judenchristentum, Gnosis, pp. 61ff.); he assumed a rigid division between what is Gnostic and what is Jewish Christian. Cf. G. Quispel, review of Schoeps, Urgemeinde, Judenchristentum, Gnosis, VC 10 (1956), 127.

Gnosticism. The books from that library differ from each other in their teachings and tendencies; and some have close affinities with Judaism or Jewish Christianity.[1]

Studies of the influences upon the apocrypha have usually proceeded without an adequate realization of the varied streams of thought that surrounded and infused the early church, Judaism, and Gnosticism. Consequent conclusions about Gnostic or Jewish-Christian influences are often questionable. The apocrypha themselves originated largely from a time when Jewish Christianity, while declining, was still active; at the same time Gnosticism was beginning to emerge as a real threat to accepted Christian teaching. Until truly Gnostic sects emerged to be condemned by spokesmen for the church, Gnostic concepts also contributed to the flow of ideas moving at the fringe of the church. Jewish Christians, if they did not choose to exist as members of isolated and ingrown sects, could have most influence only where Christian thought was still changing and changeable.

The writers of the apocrypha were often men who

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[1]See below, pp. 34-37.

had not fully developed their theological understanding of Christianity. A strictly orthodox thinker would have stayed close to the thought of the leaders in the church; a strictly heterodox theologian would have reflected sectarian influences more definite than those found in most of the apocrypha. Early Christianity developed into a whirling pool with an orthodox center dominating the whole and pulling everything near the center into itself; but it had an outer fringe whose elements were eventually pushed farther and farther out until they became rival sects. The writers of the apocrypha were often neither very close to the center nor very close to the edge; their works represent a stage in the history of the church when heterodoxy and orthodoxy were only beginning to separate from each other.

As such the apocrypha are valuable witnesses to a section of the church ignored in the patristic writings. The fathers of the church often wrote from a standpoint of orthodoxy opposed to heresy. The writers of the apocrypha represented an intermediary realm where orthodoxy and heresy were not meaningful terms, where many currents of thought could flow and intermingle freely. An investigation of the Jewish-Christian and

Gnostic elements in the apocrypha can show to what extent these were present in that milieu and can indicate, at least in part, what relationship existed between them.

CHAPTER II

GNOSTICISM

The first requirement in a study of Gnostic influence is a definition of what is meant by Gnosticism. The definition accepted determines, in part, the results of such a study. If the term is given a very narrow sense, few evidences of Gnostic influence appear; if given a broader meaning, Gnostic influence seems more widespread. The importance of an agreed definition of Gnosticism is greater than for many terms, because the word is used in a modern, not in an ancient, sense,[1] and it describes an historical phenomenon only partially understood.

C. H. Dodd used the term "as a label for a large and somewhat amorphous group of religious systems described by Irenaeus and Hippolytus," together with

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[1]Some early heretics called themselves Gnostics and Irenaeus applied the term to some others. But modern use of the word goes beyond these few groups; cf. R. P. Casey, "The Study of Gnosticism," JTS 36 (1935), 45-60, and F.-M.-M. Sagnard, La gnose valentinienne et le témoignage de saint Irénée, p. 81 n. 1.

similar systems;[1] H. Jonas, after noting Irenaeus' use of the terms Gnostic and gnosis, said that the term could be used as "a class concept, to be applied wherever the defining properties are present."[2] But the content given to the term Gnosticism, in spite of an apparent similarity of definition, was radically different between Dodd and Jonas. To Jonas, Gnosticism included not only sects attacked by the church fathers, but also men such as Philo, Origen, Plotinus, as well as the Hermetists, Mandaeans, and Manichaeans.[3] Dodd obviously intended a much narrower use for the term.[4]

What divided the two in their approaches was the question of what was meant by Jonas' "defining properties" and what should be included in Dodd's "similar systems." There are some similarities between the groups opposed by Hippolytus and Irenaeus and those

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[1]C. H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge, 1953), p. 97.

[2]H. Jonas, The Gnostic Religion (Boston, 1958), p. 32.

[3]Cf. Jonas, Gnosis und spätantiker Geist (Göttingen, 1954), and idem, The Gnostic Religion.

[4]See his discussion of Gnosticism in Dodd, op. cit., pp. 97-114.

included in Jonas' study, but many of these traits have been common to religions of many periods. Even R. Bultmann, who used the word Gnosticism in a sense close to that of Jonas,[1] made statements indicating that this use may be too wide.[2] A somewhat narrower definition seems necessary, and this must begin with a reference to the heresies opposed by the early church fathers.

A precise definition avoids unnecessary descriptive details and includes only those necessary and sufficient to indicate the thing defined. If the term Gnosticism were being used in a sense already established in history, investigators could be content with description and would not need to establish a definition. But because the use of the term is modern, a careful definition must precede historical attempts at description. A writer may avoid the problem of defi-

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[1]Cf. R. Bultmann, Primitive Christianity in its Contemporary Setting (London, 1956), pp. 162ff.

[2]Cf. R. M. Wilson, The Gnostic Problem (London, 1958), p. 67. E. M. J. M. Cornélis, Moeilijkheden en moeilijkheden bij het definiëren van de gnosis (Utrecht, 1959), p. 12, noted that Jonas' use should also include some Polynesian myths.

nition by giving a detailed description of some Gnostic systems; but he leaves his readers unable to determine which traits make the systems Gnostic. Most discussions of Gnosticism have either presupposed an agreed definition of the term or have begun with a discussion more properly considered description than definition.[1] A

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[1]The statements of Dodd and Jonas (above, pp. 18f.) avoid definition since the key terms, "similar systems" (Dodd) and "defining properties" (Jonas), are left undefined. The reader is left to abstract a definition from the descriptive discussions of both men. Bultmann, in his discussion of Gnosticism in TWNT I (Stuttgart, 1933), 692, simply referred to "that Hellenistic type of piety, both outside and inside the Church, which we call Gnostic"; then he proceeded to describe some characteristics of Gnosticism. Cf. R. Bultmann, Gnosis, trans. J. R. Coates (London, 1952), p. 8. When Bultmann wrote, "In general, we may call it [Gnosticism] a redemptive religion based on dualism" (Primitive Christianity, p. 162), he was describing, not defining.

Wilson, op. cit., pp. 66-68, stressed the need for clarity and precision in the use of the term but finally accepted Dodd's formula without further delineation. R. M. Grant's discussion of a definition, Gnosticism and Early Christianity (New York, 1959), pp. 6-13, contained a large number of descriptive details but did attempt to indicate the traits characteristic and common to all Gnostic systems.

Attempts at very short definitions have never produced a truly definitive formula. L. Massignon, "Die Ursprünge und die Bedeutung des Gnostizismus im Islam," Eranos Jahrbuch, 5 (1937), 55, called Gnosticism "eine Doktrin zur Initiation in die symbolische Bedeutung des Weltalls." Cf. L. Goppelt, Christentum und Judentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert, p. 130, "eine religiös-weltanschauliche Strömung der Spätantike,

definition lists only those traits that are necessary to a Gnostic system, traits without which a system can not be called Gnostic; and it lists enough such traits to give a definition that is sufficient, so that no non-Gnostic system could fit the definition.

A definition must not be confused with a statement of origin. Assertions about the origin of Gnosticism are meaningless unless preceded by an agreed definition of Gnosticism. Without such a definition disagreements inevitably follow. Yet a number of discussions of Gnosticism have gone directly into an examination of the origin of Gnosticism with at most a slight reference to the need for definition.[1] It may be possible to present a theory of the origin and

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deren Wesensmerkmal die absolute Abwertung der geschichtlichen Existenz zugunsten einer durch Eingebung von oben wiederzuerlangenden, eigentlichen, überweltlichen Existenz ist."

[1]Cf. F. C. Burkitt, Church and Gnosis (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 4ff.; Casey, art. cit., pp. 55ff.; idem, "Gnosis, Gnosticism in the New Testament," W. D. Davies and D. Daube, eds., The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 52ff.; L. Cerfaux, "Gnose préchrétienne et biblique," Dictionnaire de la Bible, supplément, III (Paris, 1938), 659ff.; J. Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics (London, 1960), pp. 1ff.

development of Gnosticism so complete that an unambiguous picture of Gnosticism results. But when definition depends upon a hypothetical reconstruction of history, developments in the understanding of the historical situation must alter the thing defined. Historical investigation into the origin of Gnosticism must follow, not precede, a definition of Gnosticism.

A definition of Gnosticism cannot be based upon the religious importance attached to γνῶσις, since nearly every religion claims to give saving knowledge to its adherents.[1] It is the content of this knowledge that sets the Gnostics apart from other religious teachers.[2] Similarly, an emphasis upon the Gnostic tendency toward esoteric speculation and mythology cannot in itself serve to define Gnosticism.[3] An

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[1]For the meaning and use of γνῶσις see Bultmann, "γινώσκω," TWNT I (Stuttgart, 1933), 688-715. Cf. also J. Dupont, Gnosis: la connaissance religieuse dans les épitres de saint Paul (Louvain-Paris, 1949); Dodd, op. cit., pp. 151-69.

[2]Casey, "The Study of Gnosticism," JTS 36 (1935), 55; Grant, op. cit., pp. 7f.; Doresse, op. cit., p. 1 n. 1.

[3]It is evidently such an understanding that enabled G. Scholem, Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism (New York, 1954), p. 65, to refer to "rabbinical"

acceptable definition must meet the dual requirement of necessity and sufficiency. To obtain such a definition one must examine the systems opposed by Irenaeus and Hippolytus and abstract the determinative, central traits characteristic of all of them.[1] Any other system containing these traits may then be defined as Gnostic; Gnosticism is the name given to the entire collection of all Gnostic systems.

These traits may be briefly listed as follows:[2]

Jewish Gnosticism (elsewhere in the book he alternated between a loose and a strict meaning of Gnosticism); cf. H. Dietenhard, Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum (Tübingen, 1951), p. 261, who defined Gnosis as "die Erkenntnis von Himmel, Jenseits und Gott kraft eigener Erfahrung in Mystik, Ekstase und Spekulation."

[1] M. Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls (London, 1956), p. 252, noted that the terms Gnostic and Gnosticism "should be reserved for forms of religion, whether Christian or non-Christian, that exhibit at least the characteristic features of Gnosticism as represented by the second-century Christian heresy." H. Leisegang, Die Gnosis (Stuttgart, 1955), p. 3, probably restricted the field too much when he wrote, "Wenn wir heute von Gnosis sprechen, so verstehen wir darunter immer noch zunächst die christliche häretische Gnosis, die in der Christenheit selbst der Kirche erwachsende Feindin, gegen die die Kirchenväter mit allen ihnen zu Gebote stehenden Mitteln zu Felde zogen."

[2] A detailed comparison of Gnostic systems and a rigorous justification of certain traits as characteristic falls outside the scope of the present study. But

Gnostic systems all maintain (1) a radical dualism between the Supreme Being and the creator who is ignorant of or hostile to the Supreme Being; (2) a belief in an inner relationship of being between man's essence and that of the Supreme Being, a relationship which results in a hostility of the creator toward man; (3) a view of creation as an expression of the creator's ignorance or hostility toward the highest God and of his hostility toward man; (4) a teaching explaining how man may escape the influences of the creator and his creation and may rise to the higher world above the creator; (5) a claim of a divine source for these teachings.

Once this definition of Gnosticism is accepted,

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most works dealing with Gnosticism tend to consider a few particular traits central. Compare what is given here with W. Bousset, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis (Göttingen, 1907), pp. 320f.; Jonas, Gnosis und spätantiker Geist, I, 96-251 (especially pp. 214-51); Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, pp. 163-71; idem, Theologie des Neuen Testaments, pp. 164-66; Dodd, op. cit., pp. 101-14; Schoeps, Urgemeinde, Judenchristentum, Gnosis pp. 37-39; H. Schlier, "Das Denken der frühchristlichen Gnosis," Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann (Berlin, 1957), pp. 67-82; J. N. D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines (London, 1958), pp. 26f.; Wilson, op. cit., pp. 183-227; Grant, op. cit., pp. 7-12; Doresse, op. cit., pp. 110-13; W. C. van Unnik, Evangelien aus dem Nilsand (Frankfort am Main, 1960), p. 33.

it becomes evident that many systems or teachings that cannot properly be called Gnostic have striking features in common with Gnosticism. Adjectives such as "Gnosticising" or "pre-Gnostic" have been applied to such teachings,[1] but it may be questioned whether they are really helpful. To describe an earlier idea by referring to what later developed from it creates a false impression; no one would refer to Augustine's teachings as "pre-Calvinist." An adjective such as "Gnosticising" may imply a relationship that does not necessarily exist. When a non-Gnostic system has significant traits in common with Gnosticism, it is better to state that fact and to indicate the probable relationship than to apply an adjective that is at least ambiguous and may be misleading.

The New Testament apocrypha contain a number of ideas also found within Gnostic systems. Many of the similarities probably result from a common cultural

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[1] Cf. e. g. G. Quispel, Gnosis als Weltreligion (Zürich, 1951), p. 28; idem, "The Jung Codex and its Significance," F. L. Cross, ed., The Jung Codex (London, 1955), p. 63; Goppelt, op. cit., p. 251 n.1; Schoeps, op. cit., p. 45; Wilson, op. cit., p. 255 n. 327, et passim; Cornélis, op. cit., p. 10.

background, but some may indicate a closer relationship. Before dependence of an apocryphal writer upon Gnosticism is assumed, however, the question of chronology must be examined in order to determine whether or not the Gnostic use of an idea preceded its use in an apocryphal book. This question is often insoluble, for many apocrypha are of uncertain date, and there is wide disagreement as to when Gnosticism arose. Some of that disagreement results from imprecision in the use of the term Gnosticism, but disagreement about dating is possible even with an agreed definition.

Irenaeus and Hippolytus gave no indication of the existence of any Gnostic system before the rise of Christianity. Gnostic systems could have existed earlier than that, but there is no conclusive evidence that they did.[1] Supposed demonstrations of the existence of pre-Christian Gnosticism have depended upon a non-rigorous use of the term Gnosticism, upon documents from the Christian era supposed to contain earlier

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[1]Cf. Sagnard, op. cit., pp. 612f.; Quispel, Gnosis als Weltreligion, p. 5; R. M. Wilson, "Gnostic Origins," VC 9 (1955), 204; idem, "Gnostic Origins Again," VC 11 (1957), 93ff.

tradition, or upon an ability to read more into the evidence than is demonstrably present.[1] If a pre-Christian Gnostic system did exist, it is impossible to determine what form it took until direct evidence is available.

At the same time, Gnostic systems demonstrably preceded the composition of many apocryphal books and could have influenced their writers. Gnostics often

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[1]Those writing from the religionsgeschichtliche point of view generally used the term in a wide sense and sometimes tended to give unwarranted prominence to Hermetic and Mandaean literature; cf. W. Anz, Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnostizismus (Leipzig, 1897); Bousset, op. cit.; Jonas, Gnosis und spätantiker Geist; Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, pp. 162ff.; bibliography in Cerfaux, art. cit., cols. 665-70; Sagnard, op. cit., pp. 27-29.

M. Friedländer, Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus (Göttingen, 1898), was more strict in his understanding of Gnosticism, and he depended more upon Philo than upon later literature; but he tended to find evidence to support his theories in passages that could easily be given other interpretations. Cf. also A. Adam, Die Psalmen des Thomas und das Perlenlied als Zeugnisse vorchristlicher Gnosis (Berlin, 1959); E. Haenchen, "Gab es eine vorchristliche Gnosis?" ZTK 49 (1952), 316-49.

For a summary of various points of view concerning the origin of Gnosticism, cf. Cerfaux, art. cit., cols. 660-70, to which should be added references to Quispel, Gnosis als Weltreligion; idem, "Ursprünge der Gnosis," Studium Generale, 11 (1958), 759-62; Wilson, "Gnostic Origins," VC 9 (1955), 193-211; idem, "Gnostic Origins Again," VC 11 (1957), 93-110; idem, The Gnostic Problem; Grant, op. cit.

used and developed older traditions; such traditions should not be called Gnostic until they become part of a Gnostic system. But if an idea is demonstrably part of a Gnostic system that existed before the composition of an apocryphal book containing the idea, it is quite possible that the apocryphon reflects Gnostic influence.

The question of the ultimate origin of Gnosticism is not of primary importance for the study of the New Testament apocrypha. The apocryphal books all originated within the church, so traces of Gnosticism that could have influenced them must be sought there too. The Gnosticism opposed by the early fathers worked within Christianity and it must have been there some time before it was recognised as a threat to accepted Christian teaching. In fact, while the definition of Gnosticism does not preclude the existence of a wholly non-Christian Gnostic system, nothing is known of any such system wholly uninfluenced by Christianity.[1] Some

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[1]The Hermetic writings present a wholly non-Christian system closely related to Gnosticism, but they are not truly Gnostic works. For the Hermetica see A. D. Nock and A.-J. Festugière, Corpus Hermeticum (Paris, 1945). On the relation between Gnosticism and the Hermetica cf. G. van Moorsel, The Mysteries of Hermes Trismegistus (Utrecht, 1955), pp. 20-22.

minor shreds of evidence may point to the existence of a wholly non-Christian Gnosticism, and the writings from Nag Hammadi may, when published, provide stronger evidence. But at present one can only guess what kind of Gnosticism may have existed before the appearance of Christian Gnostics.

Since the only known Gnostics were Christian Gnostics, some ideas found in known Gnostic systems may have developed within Christian circles before the rise of Christian Gnosticism; Gnostics may later have incorporated them into their Gnostic systems. If so, the apocrypha may reflect some of these ideas in their formative stages, before their final incorporation into Gnosticism. This possibility makes precarious any assumption that because an apocryphal work contains ideas found in Gnostic systems it presupposes an entire Gnostic mythology.[1]

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[1]Lipsius did this in discussing the prayer of ATho 27 and elsewhere; cf. Lipsius, Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden, I, 311-17. A number of writers have apparently assumed that the entire Valentinian system lies behind EvTr; cf. L. Cerfaux, "De saint Paul à 'L'évangile de la vérité,'" NTS 5 (1958-59), 111f. (he is cautious on this point); R. A. Markus, review of R. M. Wilson, The Gnostic Problem, NTS 6 (1959-60), 100; Jonas, The Gnostic

The question of a possible relationship between Judaism and Gnosticism is especially relevant in a study attempting to distinguish Jewish-Christian and Gnostic influences. A number of writers have recently emphasized the possibility of a Jewish origin of Gnosticism[1] and others have noticed striking similarities between Jewish and Gnostic thought.[2]

Religion, p. 190, et passim; and note especially Jonas' review of M. Malinine, H.-Ch. Puech, and G. Quispel, eds., Evangelium Veritatis, Gnomen, 32 (1960), 327-35. Much of what is written about the logia in EvTho assumes a Gnostic background for each of the sayings; cf. R. M. Grant and D. N. Freedman, The Secret Sayings of Jesus (London, 1960); R. M. Wilson, Studies in the Gospel of Thomas (London, 1960); B. Gärtner, The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas (London, 1961).

[1]Friedländer, op. cit.; E. Peterson, "Urchristentum und Mandäismus," ZNW 27 (1928), 84; A. D. Nock, review of H. Jonas, Gnosis und spätantiker Geist, Gnomen, 12 (1936), 606ff.; G. Quispel, "Der gnostische Anthropos und die jüdische Tradition," Eranos Jahrbuch, 22 (1953), 195-234; idem, "Christliche Gnosis und jüdische Heterodoxie," Evangelische Theologie, 14 (1954), 474-84; idem, "Neue Funde zur valentinianischen Gnosis," ZRGG 6 (1954), 302ff.; idem, "The Jung Codex and its Significance," F. L. Cross, ed., The Jung Codex, p. 78; Wilson, "Gnostic Origins," VC 9 (1955), 209ff.; idem, "Gnostic Origins Again," VC 11 (1957), 110; idem, The Gnostic Problem; R. M. Grant, "Gnostic Origins and the Basilidians of Irenaeus," VC 13 (1959), 121-25; idem, Gnosticism and Early Christianity.

[2]Cf. Bousset, op. cit., pp. 324ff. (cf. pp. 194-201); Goppelt, op. cit., pp. 135f.; Cornélis, op. cit., p. 8; Doresse, op. cit., pp. 285-300.

Although M. Friedländer's Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus (Göttingen, 1898) had some grave defects and was often unconvincing,[1] it should have had a greater impact than it did. Friedländer was somewhat uncritical in his use of sources and often attempted to demonstrate the existence of Gnosticism with citations that were not Gnostic at all.[2] But he did notice a number of important points that had been neglected in discussions of Gnosticism. He noted the existence within the Diaspora of Jews who had completely given up literal observance of the law and who allegorized the whole of it to make it fit their own ideas. He pointed out that the Ophites and Cainites depended largely upon Jewish ideas and had almost no trace of Christian teaching. He showed that ideas within the Talmud and midrashim, as well as in Philo, often closely paralleled Gnostic teachings. And he demonstrated that the references to the minim in rabbinic literature did not always apply to Jewish Christians. These points should

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[1]Cf. E. Schürer, review of Friedländer, op. cit., TLZ 24 (1899), 167-70.

[2]He was not unaware of this tendency, however. See the preface in Friedländer, op. cit., p. viii.

have been followed up.

But it was not until after the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls that scholars began seriously to investigate the possibility of pre-Christian Jewish Gnosticism.[1] Since then G. Quispel, basing his conclusions largely upon evidence from the Gnostic library found at Nag Hammadi, has postulated heterodox Judaism as the basis from which Gnosticism developed.[2] R. M. Wilson indicated a number of parallels between Gnostic thought and that of Hellenistic Judaism,[3] but he

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[1]This is not to say that Friedländer's work went entirely unheeded; cf. K. Kohler, The Origins of the Synagogue and the Church (New York, 1929), pp. 271ff. Even before Friedländer Harnack had commented, "Dass es einen jüdischen Gnosticismus gegeben hat, bevor es einen christlichen und judenchristlichen, ist unzweifelhaft"; A. Harnack and E. Preuschen, Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius, I (Leipzig, 1893), 144.
For discussions about supposed Gnosticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls cf. K. G. Kuhn, "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion," ZTK 49 (1952), 313-16; Bo Reicke, "Traces of Gnosticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls?" NTS 1 (1954-55), 137-41; M. Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, pp. 252-59; F. Nötscher, Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte (Bonn, 1956), pp. 38-79; R. Marcus, "The Qumran Scrolls and Early Judaism," Biblical Research, 1 (Amsterdam, 1957), 31-40; Wilson, "Gnostic Origins Again," VC 11 (1957), 99ff.; M. Mansoor, "Studies in the New Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns)," Biblical Research, 5 (Chicago, 1960), 12-21.

[2]Cf. the refs. cited above, p. 31 n. 1.

[3]Wilson, The Gnostic Problem.

took little notice of the Jews who had abandoned all literal observance of the law. R. M. Grant observed that some patristic testimonies imply a Jewish origin of Gnosticism, as Friedländer had noted some sixty years before.[1] Grant felt that the destruction of the temple and the failure of Jewish apocalyptic expectations caused a disillusionment from which Gnosticism developed, and he drew a number of parallels between apocalyptic and Gnostic thought.[2] But he overlooked the fact that long before A. D. 70 some Jews had begun a radical reinterpretation of Judaism[3] and that the development of apocalyptic thought itself resulted from a virtual rejection of history.[4]

The evidence for a strictly Jewish form of Gnosticism has apparently increased with the discovery

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[1]Grant, Gnosticism and Early Christianity, p. 14; Friedländer, op. cit., p. 12.

[2]Others have also noted such parallels. Cf. E. Stauffer, Jerusalem und Rom im Zeitalter Jesu Christi, p. 47; K. Schubert, The Dead Sea Community (London, 1959), pp. 71ff.

[3]See Friedländer, op. cit., pp. 4ff.; Philo, De mig. Ab. 16.

[4]Cf. W. Bousset, Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter, ed. H. Gressmann (Tübingen, 1926), p. 501, and pp. 211ff.

of a Gnostic library at Nag Hammadi. Of the few works from this library so far published only the Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of Truth, and the Gospel of Philip contain truly significant Christian elements. Christian influence is not central in the Apocryphon of John, the Sophia Jesu Christi, or the Gospel of Mary,[1] and it is virtually non-existent in the other works published.[2]

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[1] EvMar was not among the writings found at Nag Hammadi, but it is included in Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, which also contains copies of the Nag Hammadi ApJn and SJC. Cf. W. C. Till, Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502 (Berlin, 1955).

[2] For EvTho cf. text and trans. in A. Guillaumont et al., The Gospel According to Thomas (Leiden-London, 1959). Cf. also Grant and Freedman, op. cit.; R. Schippers, Het evangelie van Thomas: apocriefe woorden van Jezus (Kampen, 1960); Wilson, Studies in the Gospel of Thomas; Gärtner, op. cit.

For EvTr see especially M. Malinine, H.-Ch. Puech, and G. Quispel, eds., Evangelium Veritatis (Zürich, 1956); W. C. Till, "Die kairener Seiten des 'Evangeliums der Wahrheit,'" Orientalia, 28 (1959), 170-85; W. C. van Unnik, "The 'Gospel of Truth' and the New Testament," F. L. Cross, ed., The Jung Codex, pp. 81-129; K. Grobel, The Gospel of Truth (London, 1960).

For EvPh cf. H.-M. Schenke, "Das Evangelium nach Philippus," J. Leipoldt and H.-M. Schenke, Koptisch-gnostische Schriften aus den Papyrus-Codices von Nag-Hamadi (Hamburg-Bergstadt, 1960), pp. 33-65; E. Segelberg, "The Coptic-Gnostic Gospel according to Philip and its Sacramental System," Numen, 7 (1960), 189-200. For a short discussion of the EvTho and EvPh cf. R. M. Grant, "Two Gnostic Gospels," JBL 79 (1960), 1-11.

For text and trans. of ApJn, SJC, and EvMar see

But while the Christian influence is negligible, that of

Till, Die gnostischen Schriften. For discussions of these works cf. Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, pp. 198-218 (on ApJn and SJC); Wilson, The Gnostic Problem, pp. 149-71 (EvTr and ApJn); idem, "The New Testament in the Gnostic Gospel of Mary," NTS 3 (1956-57), 236-43; G. Quispel, "Das Hebräer-evangelium im gnostischen Evangelium nach Maria," VC 11 (1957), 139-44; Puech in Apok 3, pp. 251-55.

The other works so far published from the Nag Hammadi library are the Hypostasis of the Archons (cf. H.-M. Schenke, "Das Wesen der Archonten," Leipoldt-Schenke, op. cit., pp. 69-78) and an untitled treatise, OrWor; cf. Schenke, "Vom Ursprung der Welt," TLZ 84 (1959), 243-56. A further page of OrWor was given by H. Quecke, "Eine weitere Seite der koptisch-gnostischen 'Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Welt,'" Le Muséon, 72 (1959), 349-53. Photographs of some of the Mss. are in P. Labib, Coptic Gnostic Papyri in the Coptic Museum at Old Cairo, I (Cairo, 1956).

For information about other works in the Gnostic library, cf. T. Mina, "Le papyrus gnostique du Musée copte," VC 2 (1948), 129-36; J. Doresse, "Trois livres gnostiques inédits," VC 2 (1948), 137-60; Doresse and Mina, "Nouveaux textes gnostiques coptes découverts en Haute-Égypte--la bibliotheque de Chenoboskion," VC 3 (1949), 129-41; H.-Ch. Puech, "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques découverts en Haute-Égypte (premier inventaire et essai d'identification)," Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum (Boston, 1950), pp. 91-154; Puech and Quispel, "Les écrits gnostiques du Codex Jung," VC 8 (1954), 1-51; idem, "Le quatrième écrit gnostique du Codex Jung," VC 9 (1955), 65-102; F. L. Cross, ed., The Jung Codex; van Unnik, "The Origin of the Recently Discovered 'Apocryphon Jacobi,'" VC 10 (1956), 149-56; Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics; Puech in Apok 3, pp. 168-74, 197-224, 229-43, 245-49, 270-71; van Unnik, Evangelien aus dem Nilsand. For additional bibliography see S. Giverson, "Bibliography of the Nag-Hammadi Manuscripts," Acta Orientalia, 24 (1959), 189-98.

Judaism is pronounced.[1] Speculations based upon Genesis are basic to most of the writings, and Biblical names frequently occur in the lists of divine beings.[2] It is difficult to conceive of these systems without any Jewish elements; but one could easily remove all traces of Christianity without making major modifications in the systems. Further discussion of the possibility of a Jewish Gnosticism uninfluenced by Christianity must await the publication of the rest of the Nag Hammadi library. But material now available seems to indicate that Jewish conceptions played a significant role in the formation of Gnostic ideas.[3]

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[1] A process of Christianization may be observed among the documents. The unpublished Epistle of Eugnostos, which apparently lacks any sign of Christian influence, was cut up and put into Jesus' mouth to form SJC. Cf. Puech, "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques," Coptic Studies in Honor of W. E. Crum, p. 102; idem, "The Jung Codex and the other Gnostic Documents from Nag Hammadi," F. L. Cross, ed., The Jung Codex, p. 23; Doresse, "Trois livres gnostiques inédits," VC 2 (1948), 146; idem, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, p. 198. Till, Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, p. 54, wrote that Eugnostos depended upon SJC; but he gave no reasons for this view.

[2] An untitled work also emphasizes the distinction between circumcised and uncircumcised; cf. Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, p. 188.

[3] Note that Hermetic writings show no dependence

At any rate it is obvious that Jewish and Gnostic thought sometimes overlapped. Pre-Christian Judaism in Palestine as well as in the diaspora had absorbed many of the ideas of the contemporary world,[1] and some of these ideas appear in the Gnostic systems condemned by Irenaeus and Hippolytus. Jewish Christianity may also have contained some of them. In that case some elements in the apocrypha may not be attributable simply to one of these groups, but they could indicate influence from any of the three---Judaism, Jewish Christianity, or Gnosticism.

The Gnostic sects that emerged as Christian heresies took a variety of forms. F. C. Baur's division of Gnosticism into three kinds reflects some of that diversity.[2] The diversity, together with the tendency to assimilate ideas from other systems, means that

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upon Christian thought but are evidently influenced by Jewish ideas; cf. C. H. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks (London, 1935), pp. 99-200.

[1]Bousset-Gressmann, op. cit., pp. 469-524.

[2]Baur, Die christliche Gnosis, pp. 108-414, grouped Gnostic sects according to their own conception of Christianity: as something nearly Jewish, or nearly pagan, or more like catholic Christianity.

almost any particular concept may be found among at least some Gnostics. Consequently, anyone who assumes a writing to be Gnostic can usually find some Gnostic teachings in one sect or another to parallel nearly every line of it. But to do this one may have to draw upon a number of different Gnostic systems, taking a technical term from one group, a peculiar teaching from another, etc. R. A. Lipsius tended to do this,[1] but such an approach can turn almost any work into a Gnostic document. A writing should not be called Gnostic as a whole unless its elements can be fitted into some single known Gnostic system.

The definition of Gnosticism accepted here indicates the elements considered central, determinative, and common to all Gnostic systems. Other traits found in nearly all Gnostic systems are related to these central few, but the role they play is so significant that they should not be considered simply secondary ideas. Such traits may be listed briefly.

In Gnostic thought the highest God is completely

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[1]Cf., e.g., Lipsius' discussion of AJn 94-101, in Apk. Apg. I, 523-32.

transcendent, indescribable and imperceptible even to the highest beings. Below God there exist a number of semi-divine beings, and beneath these is the creator. The creator, different in kind from the supreme God, usually rules over a host of aeons, angels, and powers. His dwelling is in the uppermost of a number of heavens, often seven; he puts the lower heavens under the authority of his ruling powers. The creation is generally an expression of the creator's hostility toward the highest God, so that matter itself is evil. While matter is related to the creator, pure spirit has its ultimate origin in the unknown God. True man is spirit, the Gnostics taught, a divine spark imprisoned in flesh and in the material world; human reproduction serves only to keep bits of that spark imprisoned below.

But Gnostic opposition to the begetting of children did not always imply an opposition to sexual relationships. The Gnostic could deliberately violate the creator's laws, particularly those regulating sexual conduct, to show his independence of the creator. Some may even have given promiscuous sexual relationships a

sacramental character;[1] others had strong ascetic tendencies.[2] Salvation meant escape from this world into the higher world of spirit above the creator; most Gnostic systems described the obstacles one would meet in his journey to that world and told how to overcome them. Knowledge of one's own true nature, or of magical formulae and passwords, was usually sufficient. This knowledge came by divine revelation, often from the lips of the historical Jesus.[3] Gnostic systems contained a

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[1]Note the description of the Phibionites in Epiphanius, Pan. 26.4f. and the refs. given by Puech in Apok 3, p. 250; cf. L. Fendt, Gnostische Mysterien (München, 1922), pp. 3-22. Some of the allegations of sexual looseness may have been slander on the part of opponents of Gnosticism; the texts from Nag Hammadi apparently show no trace of licentiousness (cf. Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, p. 251).

[2]On Gnostic morality cf. Jonas, Gnosis und spätantiker Geist, I, 233-38; idem, The Gnostic Religion, pp. 270-77.

[3]The role of the redeemer was generally limited to the task of bringing knowledge from a higher world to men imprisoned in this material world. Available evidence does not support the existence of a pre-Christian Gnostic myth of a redeemed redeemer; cf. Quispel, "The Jung Codex and its Significance," F. L. Cross, ed., The Jung Codex, pp. 76ff.; M. Black, "The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Adam," SJT 7 (1954), 177. For a statement of the redeemer myth see Dousset, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis, pp. 242-51, or, more recently, W. Schmithals, Die Gnosis in Korinth (Göttingen, 1956), pp. 82-134.

great variety of other, less significant features, any of which could also have influenced the writers of the apocrypha.

In an attempt to isolate Gnostic influences one encounters a number of difficulties. It is often easy to give a Gnostic interpretation to words and phrases which might originally have meant something quite different. Gnostics did this when dealing with the New Testament,[1] and modern scholars may sometimes do the same with other writings.[2]

A Gnostic writer might conceivably produce a work that could be given a non-Gnostic as well as a Gnostic interpretation, although it is difficult to guess what end he would have in view. Examples of Gnostic thought show a tendency to find complex systems behind simple

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[1] On Gnostic exegesis of the NT, cf. G. Heinrici, Die valentinianische Gnosis und die heilige Schrift (Berlin, 1871); R. Liechtenhan, Die Offenbarung im Gnosticismus (Göttingen, 1901); C. Barth, Die Interpretation des Neuen Testaments in der valentinianischen Gnosis (Leipzig, 1911).

[2] Cf. J. B. Lang, "Der Demiurg des Priesterkodex (Gen. I bis II, 4a) und seine Bedeutung für den Gnostizismus," Eranos Jahrbuch, 9 (1942), 237-88. In this article Lang attempted to demonstrate that Gnostic interpretations of Gen. 1 represented the ideas of the original writer.

stories rather than to express an elaborate mythology in less elaborate forms.[1] So it is probable that a work is not Gnostic unless it contains unambiguous references to Gnostic teaching; and it is generally safer not to presume a Gnostic interpretation where there are other possibilities.[2] Other difficulties are caused by the variety of teachings within Gnostic systems and the Gnostic tendency to assimilate ideas from other sources, a tendency which can cause Gnostic systems to contain contradictory elements.

Gnostic influence upon the apocrypha may sometimes have been direct: the writer may himself have been a Gnostic, or Gnostics may have re-written older works to suit their own views. In either case such apocrypha may be used as source material in a study of

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[1]It can be argued that the essence of Gnosticism consisted largely of an elaboration of simpler forms: "In feite is de gnosis bij wezen een religieus verschijnsel van parasitaire aard," found "in een imaginaire wereld, waar het spel der symbolen zich ongebreideld kan ontplooien. In één woord . . . de gnosis is het goddelijke mysterie geworden tot fantasie" (Cornélis, Mogelijkheden en moeilijkheden bij het definiëren van de gnosis, p. 22).

[2]Note also that originally non-Gnostic works were sometimes altered in the interests of Gnostic doctrine. Cf. Grant and Freedman, The Secret Sayings of Jesus, pp. 67f.

Gnosticism; the works from Nag Hammadi fall largely into this category.[1] When a non-Gnostic work has been rewritten to fit Gnostic views, it may sometimes be possible to determine the original form by removing the Gnostic elements. Such a procedure is full of difficulties in the absence of objective evidence to corroborate the accuracy of the reconstruction, but the presence of disparate or contradictory elements within a single work may justify the attempt.

There may also have been less direct Gnostic influences upon the apocryphal writers. A person who had lived among Gnostics but was not one himself or a writer from a non-Gnostic circle whose members had been previously influenced by Gnostic teaching might show traces of Gnostic thought in his work.

Some ideas apparently Gnostic may not indicate Gnostic influence at all. Gnostic groups and apocryphal writers could have made independent use of older ideas or could have arrived independently at similar conclu-

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[1] Although most of the books from Nag Hammadi are Gnostic productions, some may have been produced outside Gnostic circles; cf. van Unnik, "The Origin of the Recently Discovered 'Apocryphon Jacobi,'" VC 10 (1956), pp. 149-56.

sions. Where a conception is found only in Gnosticism and in the apocrypha, the presumption of interdependence is strong; but in the absence of complete information about the developments within the early church ignorance about a common source does not mean there was none. The entire background of Hellenistic, Jewish, and Christian thought was common to many Gnostic systems and many apocryphal books; explanations of any coincidence in ideas must take that fact into account before postulating direct influence one way or the other.

CHAPTER III

JEWISH CHRISTIANITY

The possibility of Jewish influences upon Gnosticism indicates also that Jewish Christianity and Gnosticism may have been related. Some such relationship seems reflected in sects whose teachings were close to those in both groups.[1] But most scholars, convinced that Judaism and Gnosticism represented opposed and incompatible directions of thought, did not accept the idea of a close relationship between Gnosticism and Jewish Christianity.[2] Evidence contrary to their views

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[1]Cf. the Ebionites represented in the pseudo-Clementines and in Epiphanius, Pan. 30. The most recent full discussion of them is in Strecker, Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen. Strecker referred to Ebionism as "einem gnostisierenden Judenchristentum," op. cit., p. 213. But the Gnostic character of the Ebionites is not universally accepted; cf. especially Schoeps, Urgemeinde, Judenchristentum, Gnosis, pp. 61-67, and Schoeps' discussion of Strecker, op. cit., in "Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen," ZRGG 11 (1959), 72-77. Note also Cerinthus and the Elkesaites; cf. below, pp. 84-86.

[2]To scholars who wed the idea of an early opposition within the church between Jewish Christians and Hellenisers to a view that Gnosticism is basically Hellenistic, there is no possibility of any early Gnostic Jewish Christianity. The view that Gnosticism had its basis in Hellenistic thought is implicit

they considered extremely exceptional, late, or simply mistaken.[1]

But the Gnostic systems which mixed Jewish-Christian traits with Gnostic ideas appeared relatively early in the church;[2] they give no evidence of having

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wherever Gnosticism is considered a philosophy of religion (cf. Baur, Die christliche Gnosis), a Hellenising of Christianity (Harnack, History of Dogma, I, 226), or a system based upon a Hellenistic structure that ordered elements of various origin (Leisegang, Die Gnosis, pp. 5f.).

[1]E. Molland, "The Heretics Combatted by Ignatius of Antioch," JEH 5 (1954), 1-6, considered the Judaising traits attributed by Ignatius to his opponents wholly unrelated to Jewish Christianity. Harnack, op. cit., I, 291f., noted that groups wholly unconnected with Jewish Christianity were sometimes accused of Judaising.

Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums, p. 325, evidently considered the "gnostischer Ebionitismus" of the Elkesaites exceptional. He wrote that "Gnosis ist nie etwas anderes als pagane Gnosis" (emphasis his), Urgemeinde, Judenchristentum, Gnosis, p. 39. Thomas, Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie, p. 182, felt that it was relatively late when Jewish Christians came under the influence of Gnostic ideas.

[2]Cerinthus, with his insistence upon Jewish practices, has been called "the first Christian Gnostic in the full sense" (Wilson, The Gnostic Problem, p. 100). As J. Munck noted, "Jewish Christianity in Post-Apostolic Times," NTS 6 (1959-60), 113, it is often difficult to distinguish between Jewish-Christian influences and influences directly from Judaism. But if there were close contacts maintained between Christianity and Judaism, such contacts would contribute to the development of a vigorous Jewish Christianity.

developed from any system more purely Jewish Christian or more purely Gnostic. If it can be assumed that Gnosticism and Jewish Christianity overlapped to some extent instead of representing opposed, incompatible tendencies, the emergence of these systems is easily explained.

Difficulties arise during discussions of Jewish Christianity because different scholars give the term different meanings. As with Gnosticism, much depends upon the definition adopted. F. C. Baur and the Tübingen school understood Jewish Christianity as composed of the Judaizing opponents of Paul in the early church;[1] these Jewish Christians were thought to have developed later into the Ebionites condemned by the church fathers. The Ebionites, according to Baur, faithfully retained the teachings of early Jewish Christianity.[2]

Like Baur, A. Harnack also considered Jewish

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[1]Cf. especially F. C. Baur, Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi: seine Leben und Wirken, seine Briefe und seine Lehre (Leipzig, 1866-67).

[2]Cf. Baur, Das Christenthum und die christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte (Tübingen, 1853), p. 79 et passim.

Christianity and Ebionitism as synonymous terms.[1] To him the question of universalism provided the basic distinction between Jewish Christians and other Christians; Jewish Christians retained "the national and political forms of Judaism and the observance of the Mosaic law in its literal sense," or, if they rejected those forms, they "nevertheless assumed a prerogative of the Jewish people even in Christianity."[2] Harnack noted that the main body of Christians opposed such a nationalistic view and adopted a universal outlook. He also pointed out that Jewish Christianity reflected the many tendencies within Judaism and was exposed to all the external factors that modified both Judaism and Christianity.[3] He felt that during the first century Jewish Christianity was the dominant form of Christianity in Palestine, and possibly in neighbouring areas, and that Jewish Christians were also occasionally found in the west.[4] But Harnack attributed to Jewish Christians no

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[1] Harnack, op. cit., I, 289 n. 1.

[2] Ibid., p. 289. Cf. his entire discussion of Jewish Christianity, ibid., pp. 287-317.

[3] Ibid., pp. 289f.

[4] Ibid., p. 290. Harnack noted that in Palestine

significant influence upon the development of Christian doctrine; their nationalistic outlook kept them separate from the emerging catholic Christianity.[1] Harnack felt that catholicism resulted from a progressive Hellenization and contained no Jewish-Christian elements.[2] Any Judaizing tendencies within it resulted from contacts between Christianity and Judaism, not from Jewish Christianity.[3] He wrote that syncretistic (i. e. Gnostic) Jewish Christianity resulted from a background in syncretistic Judaism; Gentile Christian Gnosticism was a parallel but separate development.[4] Harnack considered none of the New Testament books Jewish Christian in origin.[5]

Harnack and Baur gave Jewish Christianity a meaning unnecessarily narrow; they excluded from it men who, like Paul, were Jews in origin, training, and practice, but who considered Gentiles eligible to

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they remained a majority until after the middle of the second century, ibid., pp. 294f.

[1] Ibid., p. 290; they hardly even influenced the pseudo-Clementine literature, ibid., pp. 311-16.

[2] Ibid., pp. 292f.

[3] Ibid., p. 293 n. 1.

[4] Ibid., pp. 302-04.

[5] Ibid., p. 295 n. 2.

receive the entire Gospel. H. Lietzmann limited Jewish Christianity even further. He considered Jewish Christians those within the Jerusalem Church who opposed Hellenism; with the destruction of Jerusalem they fled to Pella, and, added Lietzmann, in the desert of Transjordan Jewish Christianity gradually sunk into oblivion.[1] The views of Baur, Harnack, and Lietzmann resulted from the assumption that within the early church Judaism and Hellenism strongly opposed each other; this opposition became the basis for the distinction between Jewish Christians and other Christians. But this basis is inadequate; Hellenistic thought had greatly influenced Judaism,[2] and Paul, considered by

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[1] H. Lietzmann, Geschichte der alten Kirche, I (Berlin-Leipzig, 1937), 190f.

[2] For the influence of Hellenism on the diaspora cf. especially E. R. Goodenough, By Light, Light: the Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism (New Haven, 1935). Hellenism also deeply affected Palestinian Judaism; cf. E. Schürer, A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ (Edinburgh, 1885-90), II.1, 29-51; P. Wendland, Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum (Tübingen, 1912), pp. 187-211; Bousset-Gressmann, Die Religion des Judentums im spathellenistischen Zeitalter, p. 484; M. J. Lagrange, Le Judaïsme avant Jesus-Christ (Paris, 1931), pp. 55-46; W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson, A History of Israel (Oxford, 1932), II, 175-86; J. Bonservin, Le Judaïsme palestinien au temps de Jésus-Christ: sa théologie (Paris, 1934-35), I, 35-41.

Baur as the leader of Hellenistic Christianity, really represented Pharisaic tradition.[1]

J. Munck recently rejected the view which identified Jewish Christianity with the Ebionites whose teachings are reflected in the pseudo-Clementines; he limited Jewish Christianity even further than Baur, Harnack, or Lietzmann.[2] Munck identified primitive Jewish Christianity with the original Christian community in Jerusalem; then, dismissing accounts of the flight to Pella as unhistorical,[3] he concluded that Jewish Christianity disappeared with the fall of Jerusalem. Munck felt that later Christian Judaizing movements, such as the Ebionite sect, developed from

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[1]Cf. W. C. van Unnik, Tarsus of Jeruzalem, de stad van Paulus' jeugd (Amsterdam, 1952), pp. 36-38; W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London, 1955); E. Stauffer, New Testament Theology (London, 1955), pp. 35f.; D. Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism (London, 1956), passim; H.-J. Schoeps, Paulus: die Theologie des Apostels im Lichte der jüdischen Religionsgeschichte (Tübingen, 1959).

[2]J. Munck, "Jewish Christianity in Post-Apostolic Times," NTS 6 (1959-60), 103-16.

[3]Ibid., pp. 103f.; cf. also Brandon, The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church, pp. 168-73; Strecker, Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen, pp. 229-31.

within the Gentile Church.[1]

Whether or not Munck's conclusions about the Ebionites are warranted, he was wrong to restrict his definition of Jewish Christianity to a single community. All Christian communities composed of believing Jews must be considered Jewish Christian; such communities existed outside Jerusalem.[2] It is just as wrong to restrict Jewish Christianity to a group of people who held in common a single set of beliefs. Judaism contained a variety of tendencies, and no single one of them, such as a nationalistic attitude, can determine a definition of Jewish Christianity.[3]

J. Daniélou proposed a wider definition of Jewish

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[1]Munck, art. cit., p. 114.

[2]There were Christians throughout Judaea, Galilee, and Samaria (Acts 9.31), and the Christians in Damascus were Jewish Christians (Acts 9.1-22). Acts 11.19-21 records the initial extension of Christianity beyond the limits of Judaism.

[3]Harnack, op. cit., I, 290, recognised the variety of beliefs within Judaism and Jewish Christianity, but he felt that a nationalistic attitude was basic to Judaism and consequently to Jewish Christianity. However, strong universalistic tendencies existed within Judaism; cf. Hoennicke, Das Judenchristentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert, pp. 44-47; Bousset-Gressmann, op. cit., pp. 53-96.

Christianity.[1] He pointed out that the term can apply to groups who rejected Paul's teachings and whom the church fathers considered heretics, or it may be used to designate the primitive Christian community in Jerusalem; but Daniélou defined Jewish Christianity as a form of Christian thought which depended upon Jewish categories for the expression of its theology.[2] This Jewish Christianity included groups considered Jewish Christian on other definitions, but it also included Gentile Christians who had received a Jewish-Christian interpretation of Christianity.[3]

Daniélou's definition, however, has serious defects. His inclusion of Gentile Christians within Jewish Christianity makes the definition immediately suspect. To justify this he pointed out that in missionary endeavour a long period always elapses before a newly-evangelised nation develops a theology of its own; consequently Gentile Christians must long have retained Jewish-Christian ideas. Nevertheless, whenever

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[1] Daniélou, Théologie du judéo-christianisme, pp. 17-20.

[2] Ibid., p. 19. [3] Ibid.

Gentiles contributed to Christian thought their contributions had to be based upon their own Gentile background. They could repeat Jewish-Christian doctrines they had been taught, and their writings would reflect those teachings; but Gentiles could not develop a Jewish-Christian theology. What they wrote was Jewish Christian only insofar as it repeated this Jewish-Christian teaching without alteration. Consequently Daniélou's criteria for determining that a writing is Jewish Christian have been justly criticised.[1]

Daniélou retained the idea of an opposition between Hellenistic and Jewish thought, and he consequently excluded Philo as evidence for Judaism.[2] In doing so he failed to recognise the extent of Hellenistic influence upon Palestinian Judaism;[3] the differences between Jerusalem and Alexandrian Jews,

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[1]Munck, art. cit., pp. 112f. Daniélou, op. cit., p. 75, seemed not to accept his own definition of Jewish Christianity when he wrote, "les Ébionites sont des fidèles observateurs de la Loi, comme tous les judéo-chrétiens" (emphasis added).

[2]Daniélou, op. cit., p. 20.

[3]See above, p. 51 n. 2.

however great, were differences in degree only.[1] An adequate definition of Jewish Christianity must not exclude converts from Hellenistic Judaism.

H. J. Schoeps' study of Jewish Christianity applied the adjective judenchristlich only to heretical forms of Jewish Christianity[2] and Schoeps was criticised for seeing too close a connexion between the Ebionites and the Jerusalem Church.[3] But he considered the Ebionites an outgrowth of only a minor faction among the Jerusalem Christians.[4] He gave no precise definition of the term Jewish Christianity, but he did refer to "grosskirchliche Judenchristen"[5] and hinted that a comprehensive definition would include any Christian of

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[1]Bousset-Gressmann, op. cit., p. 128.

[2]Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums, p. 7.

[3]Kümmel, "Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums," Studia Theologica, 3 (1949), 188-94; G. Bornkamm, review of Schoeps, op. cit., ZKG 64 (1952-53), 196-204.

[4]Schoeps, Urgemeinde, Judenchristentum, Gnosis, p. 7.

[5]Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums, p. 27 (emphasis his).

Jewish origin.[1] Such a definition would be both natural and definite, but it requires limitation before it can be used as a basis for historical investigation. The church has always contained some Jewish converts to Christianity, but no definite historical connexion relates them to each other.[2]

During much of the history of the church conversion to Christianity meant, for a Jew, forsaking one religion to accept another. A person could not be a Jew

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[1] Ibid., p. 7: "Mit dem Terminus 'judenchristlich' wird in dieser Arbeit nicht jede Äusserung eines Christen jüdischer Abstammung belegt, sondern nur Dokumentierungen eines vom grosskirchlichen verschiedenen judenchristlichen Gruppenstandpunktes." This statement implies that normally one would understand judenchristlich to refer to "eines Christen jüdischer Abstammung." M. Simon, Verus Israel (Paris, 1948), pp. 308f., noted that Jewish birth cannot be considered a necessary requirement of Jewish Christians, since many Gentiles had been converted to Judaism. The definition of Jewish Christianity should include all Christians who had been Jews when they accepted Christianity.

[2] H. J. Schonfield, The History of Jewish Christianity from the First to the Twentieth Century (London, 1936), attempted to trace Jewish Christianity throughout the history of the church; the attempt inevitably resulted in a discussion of several unrelated movements.

For other discussions of definition cf. Hoennicke, op. cit., pp. 17-19; F. J. A. Hort, Judaistic Christianity (London, 1894), pp. 1-12; Simon, op. cit., pp. 277-81; W. G. Kümmel, "Judenchristentum, I. Im Altertum," RGG 3 (Tübingen, 1959), 967-72; Wilson, Studies in the Gospel of Thomas, pp. 117-20.

and a Christian at the same time.[1] But in the earliest days of the church Jewish Christians could retain their identification as Jews, continue to worship in both temple and synagogue, and were considered Jews by all other Jews. This was apparently the case with all Christians until the first community of uncircumcised Christians appeared in Antioch.[2] A discussion of Jewish Christianity must consider all Christians who were able to maintain an allegiance to both the synagogue and the church.

This definition of Jewish Christianity probably includes all converts from Judaism to Christianity until about A.D. 80, when the birkath ha-minim was inserted into the eighteen benedictions; its purpose was apparently to keep Jewish Christians from participating in the worship of the synagogue.[3] Before that date Jews

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[1] Cf. Jerome's remark, repeated by Augustine, "volunt et Iudaei esse et Christiani, nec Iudaei sunt nec Christiani" (Augustine, Epist. 75.13; 82.15).

[2] Acts 11.19ff.

[3] In its earliest form the twelfth benediction contained a curse upon "Nazarenes and minim"; for the text see G. Dalman, Die Worte Jesu (Leipzig, 1898), p. 300. For translation and discussion of the eighteen benedictions cf. Str-B IV.1, 208-49; Lagrange, op. cit., pp. 466-70; Bonservin, op. cit., II, 144-47. The date

could consider disputes with Jewish Christians domestic quarrels; Christians might be heretics, but they worshipped the same God in the same places as other Jews. Their expulsion from the synagogue cut this bond that linked together Jewish Christians and non-Christian Jews. But Jewish Christians were still able to maintain their self-identification as Jews, their Jewish way of life, and their daily intercourse with other Jews. They could circumcise their children and bring them up in the traditions of Judaism. The children, having never participated in the worship of the synagogue, probably felt less closely tied to Judaism than did their parents.

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of the composition of the birkath ha-minim is indicated in B. Berakoth 28b.

S. W. Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews (New York, 1952-60), II, 135, stated that the purpose of the malediction may have been to proclaim the already-existing separation between Christianity and Judaism. But it was more probably intended as a test to separate out Christians and other heretics from synagogue worship. A person who faltered in reciting it would be suspected of being a min (B. Berakoth 29a). Cf. J. Parkes, The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue (London, 1934), pp. 77f.; Simon, op. cit., pp. 235f.; G. D. Kilpatrick, The Origins of the Gospel according to St. Matthew (Oxford, 1946), pp. 101-23.

For patristic testimonies to the Jewish practice of cursing Christians cf. Schürer, op. cit., II.2, 88f. On the minim cf. R. T. Herford, Christianity in Talmud and Midrash (London, 1903), pp. 361-97; Hoennicke, op. cit., pp. 381-400; H. Hirschberg, "Once Again--the Minim," JBL 67 (1948), 305-18.

But frequent intercourse with Jews, close relationships with other Jewish Christians, and an acquaintance with later Jewish converts to Christianity could strengthen the bond. Children raised in Jewish-Christian homes who retained their identification with Judaism prolonged the existence of Jewish Christianity even after the birkath ha-minim had made the term an anachronism.[1]

As Judaism and Christianity drew further and further apart, the possibility of maintaining a dual allegiance declined.[2] As a result Jewish Christians were drawn more and more into the predominantly Gentile Christian community,[3] where they eventually accepted its practices and ideas. Their influence upon the Gentile church could not have been great;[4] as they accepted its

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[1]Cf. Parkes, op. cit., pp. 92-95.

[2]The separation was intensified as Jews joined pagans in persecuting Christians; cf. W. H. C. Frend, "The Persecutions: some Links between Judaism and the Early Church," JEH 9 (1958), 157.

[3]For early refs. to Jewish and Gentile Christians in the same churches, cf. H. Achelis, Das Christentum in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten (Leipzig, 1912), II, 230-31, 281-82.

[4]Judaizing tendencies among Gentile Christians resulted possibly from Jewish-Christian influence (cf. Augustine, Epist. 196), but they could also have

ways their influence and numbers as Jewish Christians

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resulted from a Gentile use of the OT; cf. Munck, art. cit., pp. 109-11, 115; Harnack, History of Dogma, I, 291ff. In Jerome's day a Christian of Jewish origin had a better chance than others to obtain a position of authority in the church; cf. Jerome, In Isa. 61.3 (PL XXIV, 601).

The Didache, Didascalia, and Const. Ap. reflect some Jewish-Christian practices. On the Didache cf. Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 38f.; J.-P. Audet, La Didachè, instructions des apôtres (Paris, 1958). For the Didascalia see M. D. Gibson, The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac (London, 1903); idem, The Didascalia Apostolorum in English (London, 1903); H. Achelis and J. Flemming, Die syrische Didaskalia (Leipzig, 1904); R. H. Connolly, Didascalia Apostolorum (Oxford, 1929). J. Quasten, Patrology (Utrecht, 1950-60), II, 147, wrote that the author of the Didascalia was "of Jewish descent." For Const. Ap. see F. X. Funk, Die apostolischen Konstitutionen, eine litterar-historische Untersuchung (Rottenburg, 1891); idem, Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum (Paderbornae, 1905); Goodenough, By Light, Light, pp. 306-58.

Jewish Christians may have influenced catholic anti-Jewish polemic; Jewish Christians had greater cause to emphasize the superiority of Christianity over Judaism. See the discussion of anti-Jewish polemic in J. Juster, Les Juifs dans l'empire romain (Paris, 1914), pp. 43-48; cf. also A. L. Williams, Adversus Judaeos: a Bird's-Eye View of Christian Apologiae until the Renaissance (Cambridge, 1935). A possible testimony to Jewish-Christian attacks upon Judaism is in B. Abodah Zarah 17a, although Friedländer, Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus, pp. 71-74, questioned the Jewish-Christian character of the heretic mentioned. A discussion in Gen. R. on Gen. 1.26 between R. Simlai and a heretic may also indicate Jewish-Christian controversy with Jews.

Jewish Christians probably made the Old Syriac translation of the Gospels; cf. M. Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts (Oxford, 1954), p. 199; P. Kahle, The Cairo Geniza (Oxford, 1959), p. 287. The

gradually declined. Some Jewish Christians, unwilling to lose their identity by absorption into the Gentile church, marked out for themselves a third path that was neither Jewish nor Christian. Cut off from vital contacts with Judaism and keeping themselves aloof from the Gentile church, they developed an ingrown community and a sectarian mentality; eventually they emerged as heretics condemned by the church fathers. Jewish Christians who did not follow this course never came under the special notice of the church fathers and consequently left but few traces of their existence. Their influence upon the leaders of the church or upon its theology could only be peripheral and secondary.

But they could influence areas of the church where a definite theology had not been developed and where the distinction between orthodoxy and heresy was

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Jewish-Christian EvHe may have influenced Tatian's Diatessaron; cf. Black, op. cit., pp. 201f. G. Quispel has argued that Jewish-Christian tradition is reflected in the Western text of the Gospels, in EvTho, the pseudo-Clementines, and the Diatessaron. Cf. Quispel, "L'évangile selon Thomas et les Clémentines," VC 12 (1958), 181-96; idem, "Some Remarks on the Gospel of Thomas," NTS 5 (1958-59), 276-90; idem, "L'évangile selon Thomas et le 'texte occidental' du Nouveau Testament," VC 14 (1960), 204-15.

not sharply drawn. Where many currents of thought were free to flow, the ideas of Jewish Christians could mingle with the rest. So among Christians not dominated by a desire for conformity in doctrine Jewish Christians, independent thinkers, and laymen could all contribute ideas and develop systems different from what was emerging elsewhere as orthodoxy. Among such people Christian Gnosticism probably first developed and in such areas the writers of the apocrypha could find readers ready to accept their work. Consequently it was almost inevitable that the apocrypha should reflect some views of Jewish Christians and contain ideas also found in Gnostic systems; the apocryphal writers were acquainted, not with the developed theology of the church leaders, but with an undeveloped mixture of ideas found in the marginal areas of the church.

As Harnack noted, Jewish Christianity contained within itself the same variety of tendencies found in Judaism.[1] Pre-Christian Judaism contained a complex

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[1]Harnack, op. cit., I, 290. Cf. Strecker, Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen, p. V: "das Judenchristentum [ist] eine komplexe Grösse, deren verschiedenartige Formen sich einer schematischen Erfassung widersetzen." Cf. also Simon, op. cit., p. 280.

mixture of ideas that defies any brief attempt at summary. At first sight, according to W. Bousset, Jewish religion from the Maccabean period until the final destruction of the Jewish nation appears as "ein gärendes Chaos"; he wrote, "Wenn etwas an ihr charakteristisch ist, so ist es die Uneinheitlichkeit und der Selbstwiderspruch."[1]

A division of Judaism into Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes may reflect the primary religious movements,[2] but patristic testimonies give evidence of others. The Zealots may have had religious emphases peculiar to themselves, and so may the Herodians.[3]

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[1]Bousset-Gressmann, Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter, p. 53; cf. also Hoennicke, Das Judenchristentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert, pp. 33-44.

[2]For these groups cf. Schürer, A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, II.2; Lagrange, Le Judaïsme avant Jesus-Christ, pp. 268-330; Bonservin, Le Judaïsme palestinien au temps de Jesus-Christ, I, 45-58, 63-67; L. Finkelstein, The Pharisees: the Sociological Background of their Faith (Philadelphia, 1946). For the relationship between the Essenes and the Qumran sect cf. A. Dupont-Sommer, Die essenischen Schriften vom Toten Meer (Tübingen, 1960), pp. 24-74.

[3]On the Zealots cf. C. Roth, The Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls (Oxford, 1958), but cf. Dupont-Sommer, op. cit., pp. 428-34; see also F. Jackson

Geographical considerations caused religious emphases to vary in different areas; Galilean Judaism differed from that in Judaea,[1] and Samaritanism also provided part of the background of Jewish Christianity.[2] J. Thomas

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and K. Lake, "The Zealots," Jackson and Lake, eds., The Beginnings of Christianity: Part I, The Acts of the Apostles (London, 1920-33), I, 421-25. Epiphanius, Pan. 20.1, considered the Herodians a religious sect that believed Herod to be the Christ.

[1]Dalman, Sacred Sites and Ways, pp. 6ff. The Galileans were referred to as a Jewish sect alongside the Pharisees, Sadducees, etc.; cf. Hegesippus in HE 4.22.7; Justin, Dial. 80; M. Black, "The Patristic Accounts of Jewish Sectarianism," BJRL 41 (1959), 287. There was some relationship between the Galileans and the Zealots, but it is difficult to conclude that they were identical; cf., however, Hoennicke, op. cit., p. 36 n. 1; Bousset-Gressmann, op. cit., p. 87 n. 3; Daniélou, Théologie du judéo-christianisme, p. 84. Apocalyptic thought was particularly strong in Galilee; cf. Stauffer, Jerusalem und Rom im Zeitalter Jesu Christi, pp. 42f. On the Galilean form of Jewish Christianity cf. L. E. Elliott-Binns, Galilean Christianity (London, 1956), pp. 43-52.

[2]Black, art. cit., pp. 291, 294-303. Note the inclusion of Samaritans among Jewish sects in the lists of Hegesippus (HE 4.22.7) and Clem. Rec. 1.54. Simon Magus was a Samaritan (cf. Acts 8.9f. and R. P. Casey, "Simon Magus," Jackson and Lake, eds., The Beginnings of Christianity, V, 152), but he is called a Jew in APe 6, 22. There were Christians early in Samaria; John baptised there (John 3.23), Jesus made converts there (John 4.1-42), and Philip preached there (Acts 8.5). On the ministries of Jesus and John in Samaria see Stauffer, op. cit., p. 154 n. 108.

According to John 8.48 the Jews called Jesus a Samaritan; cf. Black, art. cit., p. 302. Rabbinic

attempted to demonstrate the existence of a widespread unorthodox baptist movement throughout Palestine.[1] Jewish sects such as the Nasaraeans,[2] Masbotheans,[3] Hellenians,[4] Genistae and Meristae[5] also existed. The

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assertions that Jesus was born of a menstruant (B. Yebamoth 49b; cf. Toledoth Jesu, Kanma 18b, cited by H. Laible, Jesus Christus im Thalmud [Leipzig, 1900], pp. 33-39) may reflect the same idea, since Samaritan women were considered menstruants from birth (M. Niddah 4.1). On Samaritans and Samaritanism cf. J. A. Montgomery, The Samaritans, the Earliest Jewish Sect (Philadelphia, 1907); Gaster, The Samaritans: their History, Doctrines, and Literature; A. C. Welch, Post-Exilic Judaism (Edinburgh, 1935), pp. 17-46. There were Samaritans in the Diaspora as well as in Palestine; cf. Schürer, op. cit., II.2, 241.

[1]Thomas, Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie. Note the refs. to Hemerobaptists by Hegesippus (in HE 4.22.7), Epiphanius, Pan. 17, Const. Ap. 6.6, and cf. also Clem. Hom. 2.23; for discussion see Thomas, op. cit., pp. 34-37. Note also that Justin, Dial. 80, includes the βαπτισταί among the Jewish sects. For rabbinic refs. to baptists cf. Thomas, op. cit., pp. 43ff. Justin's ref. may have been to baptising Pharisees; cf. Black, art. cit., p. 289.

[2]Epiphanius, Pan. 18. For discussion cf. Thomas, op. cit., pp. 37-40; Black, art. cit., pp. 298ff.

[3]Hegesippus in HE 4.22.7; Const. Ap. 6.6; Thomas, op. cit., pp. 40-42.

[4]Justin, Dial. 80. Nothing is known of them outside this one reference. They may have been related to the Hellenists of Acts 6.1 (cf. Harnack, Judentum und Judenchristentum in Justins Dialog mit Trypho [Leipzig, 1913], p. 59), or they may have been followers of Hillel (correcting Ἑλληνιανῶν to Ἑλληλιαλῶν; Black, art.

am ha-aretz probably had a mixture of religious attitudes,[1] and apocalyptic speculation cut across sectarian lines.[2] Hellenistic ideas, as well as ideas from Iran,

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cit., p. 289). Harnack, loc. cit., also suggested a connexion between the Hellenians and the Herodians. M. Simon considered the Hellenians to be Essenes; cf. Simon, "Les sectes juives d'après les témoignages patristiques," K. Aland and F. L. Cross, eds., Studia Evangelia, I (Berlin, 1957), 535-37. Followers of Simon Magus were called Ἑλενιανοί; cf. Origen, C. Cels. 5.62.

[5]Genistae has been generally considered a translation of minim; cf. e.g. Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums, p. 387 n. 3; M. Simon, art. cit., p. 533. Meristae was taken by Simon, art. cit., pp. 533ff., to refer to Jews with dualistic tendencies; Schoeps, loc. cit., understood it as an alternate translation of minim. For a criticism of these and other explanations cf. D. Gershenson and G. Quispel, "Meristae," VC 12 (1958), 19-26, who felt that Meristae designated schismatics.

[1]Am ha-aretz probably designated the Jewish masses, the lower classes and people of the higher classes who did not follow the Pharisaic regulations. On the am ha-aretz cf. Schürer, op. cit., II.2, 8f., 22ff.; A. Büchler, Der galiläische 'Am-ha 'Ares des zweiten Jahrhunderts (Vienna, 1906); G. F. Moore, "The Am ha-Ares (the People of the Land) and the Haberim (Associates)," Jackson and Lake, eds., The Beginnings of Christianity, I, 439-45; Str-B II, 494-519; Lagrange, op. cit., pp. 276ff.; Bonservin, op. cit., I, 59-62.

[2]Some writers have minimised the significance of Jewish apocalyptic thought; cf. R. T. Herford, Talmud and Apocrypha (London, 1933), p. 265; G. F. Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era (Cambridge, Mass., 1927-30), I, 127-30. But it appears that apocalyptic speculation existed throughout Judaism;

Babylonia, and Egypt, influenced Jewish thought in Palestine and in the Diaspora;[1] outside Palestine Diaspora Jews adopted at least some of the attitudes of the surrounding cultures. A minority of Jews gave up all literal observance of the law.[2] Ideas from any of these groups could have been present within Jewish Christianity, and Bousset's reference to "die Uneinheitlichkeit und der Selbstwiderspruch"[3] could apply to it as well as to Judaism.

The New Testament indicates that some of the diversity within Jewish Christianity dated from the ministry of Jesus. The apostles were Galileans, but

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cf. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 9f.; Lagrange, op. cit., pp. 70-90; Stauffer, op. cit., pp. 40-48.

[1]For foreign religious influences upon Judaism cf. Bousset-Gressmann, op. cit., pp. 475-87; Lagrange, op. cit., pp. 388-426.

[2]Cf. Philo, De mig. Ab. 16. Some Jews, notably in Phrygia, made an amalgamation of Judaism and other religions, and other Jews were lax in their adherence to the law; cf. Ch. Guignebert, The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus (London, 1939), pp. 238-52; Wilson, The Gnostic Problem, pp. 11-14. A number of Jews had completely rejected the authority of the law; cf. below, p. 75 n. 1.

[3]Above, p. 64.

Jesus' ministry included Judaea, Samaria, and Peraea;[1] it is likely that he made converts in all those areas. His following apparently included Pharisees, Zealots, and Samaritans,[2] and Gospel references to publicans and sinners indicate his acceptance among the lower classes. He did not teach among the Gentiles, but the fact that he cast a demon out of the daughter of a Syrophoenician woman and healed the Gerasene demoniac hints that he may have had a few Gentile followers.[3] If many of these people did not become Jesus' disciples before his death they at least saw his power and heard his message, and they could have been among the first to accept the Gospel when the disciples began to preach outside

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[1]On the travels of Jesus cf. Dalman, Sacred Sites and Ways; cf. also E. Lohmeyer, Galiläa und Jerusalem (Göttingen, 1936); W. Marxsen, Der Evangelist Markus: Studien zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Evangeliums (Göttingen, 1956).

[2]Cf. John 3.1f. (a Pharisee); John 4.39ff. (Samaritans); Luke 6.15 (Acts 1.13--Simon the Zealot). Jackson and Lake, "The Zealots," Jackson and Lake, eds., The Beginnings of Christianity, I, 425, doubted that Simon was really a zealot.

[3]The Syrophoenician woman (Mark 7.26ff.) is called a Canaanite in Matt. 15.22. On the Gerasene demoniac cf. Mark 5.1ff., par. The presence of pigs in the neighbourhood indicates that Gerasa (probably modern Kursa) was not a Jewish town.

Jerusalem.[1]

At Pentecost, according to the account in Acts, the Gospel was preached to Jews and proselytes from all over the known world.[2] Few of these could have remained long in Jerusalem; the rest must almost immediately have carried the message of Christ back with them to their homes. The Jerusalem church itself contained differing parties; the book of Acts refers to Christian priests, Hellenists, and to the party of the Pharisees.[3] Paul

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[1]Acts 8.1 records the beginning of this preaching beyond Jerusalem.

[2]The account in Acts 2.1-11 was probably influenced by the Jewish tradition that the law had been given in the 70 languages of mankind; cf. M. Sotah 7.5; B. Shabbath 88b; Exod. R. 5.9; Bonsèrvin, op. cit., I, 252; E. Haenchen, Die Apostolgeschichte (Göttingen, 1959), p. 138. But in any case a large number of Jews from outside Palestine must have heard Peter's message.

[3]For the priests cf. Acts 6.7. τινες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἱρεσέως τῶν φαρισαίων πεπιστευκότες (Acts 15.5) may be Christians who, like Paul, had formerly been Pharisees; but they may also have been a party within the church. None of the proposed identifications of the Hellenists (Acts 6.1) has received universal assent. Cf. H. J. Cadbury, "The Hellenists," Jackson and Lake, eds., The Beginnings of Christianity, V, 59-74; O. Cullmann, "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity," JBL 74 (1955), 220-24; idem, "L'opposition contre le temple de Jérusalem," NTS 5 (1958-59), 157-73; M. Simon, St. Stephen and the Hellenists in the Primitive Church (London, 1958); Daniélou, op. cit., p. 85; C. F. D.

encountered a number of factions and tendencies during his ministry, although not all of these were Jewish Christian. Apollos and others had known of John the Baptist but had never received the Christian Gospel; such people, upon their conversion to Christianity, may have brought their own emphases into the church.[1] Jewish Christians must have been involved in the divisions that arose within the Corinthian church[2] and probably held some of the ideas combatted in the Pauline epistles.[3] The Johannine literature, the

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Moule, "Once More, Who were the Hellenists?" ExpT 70 (1958-59), 100-102; Haenchen, op. cit., p. 214 n. 1.

[1]For Apollos see Acts 18.24f.; Acts 19.1-7 tells of a group of followers of John in Ephesus. Cf. E. Käsemann, "Die Johannesjünger in Ephesus," ZTK 49 (1952), 144-54; Haenchen, op. cit., pp. 487-92. On the followers of John cf. also Thomas, op. cit., pp. 89-114. The movement was apparently widespread, reaching as far as Egypt and Rome; cf. Stauffer, op. cit., pp. 100ff.

[2]The church in Corinth contained a number of Jewish Christians (cf. Acts 18.1-4, 8) as well as a number of divisions (I Cor. 1.12). On these divisions cf. W. Schmithals, Die Gnosis in Korinth; A. Schlatter, Paulus, der Bote Jesu: eine Deutung seiner Briefe an die Korinther (Stuttgart, 1956), pp. 11-55; Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, pp. 135-67. Cf. also Hoennicke, op. cit., pp. 147-53.

[3]Cf. Goppelt, Christentum und Judentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert, pp. 125-43.

epistle to the Hebrews, and the other non-Pauline epistles probably reflect other types of Jewish-Christian thought.[1]

This variety of ideas within Jewish Christianity makes a brief summary of Jewish-Christian thought impossible. But a few problems that nearly all Jewish Christians had to resolve may be noted. The relationship between Christ and the Jewish law was probably the most important of these. The usual solution was that Jewish Christians transferred their former allegiance

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[1]The epistle to the Hebrews must have been produced by Jewish-Christian reflection upon the relation between Christ and Judaism; cf. Goppelt, op. cit., pp. 234-37. The epistle of James is also a Jewish-Christian product; cf. Goppelt, op. cit., pp. 189f. The character of I Peter is related to the question of its authenticity; cf. E. G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of Peter (London, 1946), pp. 7-63. Jude and II Peter must also be assigned to Jewish-Christian writers (Goppelt, op. cit., pp. 191f.).

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has made evident the fact of a close relationship between Johannine thought and pre-Christian Judaism; cf. Schubert, The Dead Sea Community, pp. 151-54. But long before that discovery A. Harnack had indicated, using the Odes of Solomon as evidence, that central Johannine motifs were based upon Jewish thought; cf. Harnack, Ein jüdisch-christliches Psalmbuch aus dem ersten Jahrhundert (Leipzig, 1910), pp. 118f. Now the close relationship between the fourth Gospel and Jewish Christianity is being increasingly recognised; cf. J. A. T. Robinson, "The Destination and Purpose of St. John's Gospel," NTS 6 (1959-60), 117-31.

to the Torah over to Christ; he became the new Torah.[1] With the acceptance of Christ as the new Torah, previously-held differences of opinion concerning the law became more marked within Jewish Christianity. A Jew who had seen real meaning in the legal ritual could see in Christ the higher fulfillment of it;[2] Jews like Paul who felt an inadequacy in the Jewish law could find in Christ what was lacking.[3] A Jew impressed by the

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[1]To a Jew Torah was more than a set of laws; the term referred to the full revelation of God (Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks, pp. 25-41; Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, I, 263-80). The Torah was thought to have been the instrument of creation (M. Aboth 3.15). Two soldiers sent to learn what the Torah of Israel was found out by learning the Mishna, Midrash, Halakoth and Haggadoth (Sifre on Deut. 33.3; TR 373); to them Torah meant the sum total of Jewish religious teaching. Torah (=Wisdom) apparently became hypostatised in Sirach 24.1-23; cf. also M. Aboth 6.10, where Prov. 8.22 is said to refer to the Torah. The tendency toward hypostatisation was later suppressed in a reaction against Christianity; cf. Bonservin, op. cit., I, 212-19.

On the Jewish conception of the law cf. Bousset-Gressmann, op. cit., pp. 119-41; Bonservin, op. cit., I, 247-303; II, 69-80. For Christ as the new Torah cf. Hermas, Sim. 8.3.2; Justin, Dial. 11; Preaching of Peter, cited by Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 1.29.182; Davies, op. cit., pp. 147-76; idem, Torah in the Messianic Age and/or the Age to Come (Philadelphia, 1952); R. Bring, "Preaching the Law," SJT 13 (1960), 1-32.

[2]Cf. the epistle to the Hebrews.

[3]Cf. Rom. 8.3f. Note also 4 Ezra; cf. G. H. Box, The Ezra-Apocalypse (London, 1912), pp. xxxix-xlv.

significance of temple sacrifice could see in Christ's death the perfect sacrifice;[1] former members of baptist sects, who had evidently considered the temple sacrifices insufficient, would emphasize the importance of Christian baptism.[2] Jews with sectarian attitudes toward the law, those who felt free to alter or reinterpret it at will, probably contributed toward sectarian views of Christ and the Gospel.[3]

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[1]Cf. Heb. 9.12-14.

[2]The Nasaraeans described by Epiphanius (see above, p. 66 n. 2) rejected sacrifice and may have practised baptism; cf. Thomas, op. cit., p. 40. Groups with a heavy stress upon repeated baptisms could not have considered the temple cultus entirely adequate. These Jews possibly regarded baptism in a way that others regarded sacrifice. As Christians such people would note the fact that Christianity knows only one sacrifice and requires only one baptism. They would tend to regard Christian baptism a final washing away of sins and would probably consider post-baptismal sin unforgivable; cf. Hermas, Mand. 4.3.

[3]Epiphanius' Nasaraeans rejected sacrifice and accepted only parts of the Pentateuch. These features reappear in the Ebionites; cf. Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums, pp. 148-76; Strecker, Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen, pp. 162-87. Some Alexandrian Jews made major reinterpretations of the law (Philo, De mig. Ab. 16); this may have contributed to Alexandrian acceptance of Gnostic teaching. Cf. the ties with Egypt of Basilides (Irenaeus, Haer. 1.24.1; HE 4.7.3; Epiphanius, Pan. 24.1), Valentinus (Epiphanius, Pan. 31.2, 7), and Apelles, Marcion's disciple (Tertullian, Praescr. 30).

Jews who had rejected all literal observance of the law or had broken completely from Judaism could find in Christ justification for what they had done. Such Jewish Christians might even bring what appeared to be anti-Jewish feelings into Jewish Christianity.[1] Jews who had given complete devotion to the law, who had considered it supreme and eternal, may have seen in Christ a counterclaim which forbade a dual allegiance. Others felt that Christianity had still to be subordinate to the Mosaic law.[2] The masses among the Jews,

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[1]Rabbinic sources indicate that some Jews had ceased to observe the law. Cf. M. Sanhedrin 10.1: "These are they that have no share in the world to come: he who says there is no resurrection from the dead, . . . that the law is not from heaven, and an Epicurean." J. Peah 16a (TR 500) mentions those who throw off the yoke, break the covenant, or revolt against the Torah. Breaking the covenant probably meant refusing to circumcise one's children; cf. B. Sanhedrin 99a, "he who abolishes the covenant of the flesh" is one who "abolishes the covenant of our father Abraham." Cf. also the refs. in A. Büchler, Studies in Sin and Atonement in the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century (London, 1928), pp. 81-118. Note also the mention of Jewish apostates in II Baruch 41. Apostates, in spite of their apostasy, remain Jews (B. Kiddushin 36a). B. Sanhedrin 99a mentions those who deny that the Torah is what was received by Moses; cf. the Nasaraean view of the Mosaic law.

[2]This was apparently the view of those who insisted that Gentile Christians should be circumcised. Cf. Acts 15.5; Gal. 2.12 (ἐκ περιτομῆς); Justin, Dial. 47; Clem. Diamartyria 1.

like those in every religion, probably complied unthinkingly with the primary, obvious requirements of their religion: circumcision, Sabbath observance, the observance of certain festivals, and meat distinctions.[1] As Christians they probably maintained these practices as long as people around them did and ceased to observe them when others did.

Jewish Christians also had to decide upon their attitude toward Gentiles; the diversity of opinion within Judaism resulted in a variety of attitudes among Jewish Christians. Some Jews had longingly awaited the time when God would finally bring down his wrath upon the Gentiles.[2] Jewish Christians with such hopes must

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[1] In the Diaspora these traits set Jews apart from others; cf. Juvenal, Sat. 14.96-106; Josephus, C. Apion 2.234; Epistle to Diognetus 4; Schürer, A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, II.2, 314f.; Harnack, The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries, I, 13f. Jewish refusal to allow incestuous marriages also set them apart from others.

The apostolic decree in Acts 15.20, 29, required Gentiles to accept some Jewish meat distinctions and to avoid incestuous marriages (cf. Haenchen, op. cit., p. 390), but it set down no requirements concerning circumcision and Sabbath observance. Jewish Christians who retained circumcision and Sabbath observance were eventually considered heretics--whether or not they held unorthodox beliefs; cf. the refs. below, p. 82 n. 1.

[2] Cf. I En. 56.5-8; 62.1-12 (even if the simili-

have found it difficult to accept uncircumcised Gentiles into the church. Other Jews had resigned themselves to the evils of this world and had put all their hopes in a future paradise.[1] They may have adjusted with less difficulty to the idea of Gentiles in the church. Many Jews felt that Gentiles would share in the blessings of the kingdom, but that Israel would have the highest place in it.[2] As Christians such people might willingly accept Gentiles into the church as long as its leaders were predominantly Jewish Christians. Some Pharisees had pictured a gradual extension of the rule of God until it included all men;[3] the rabbis looked with great

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tudes are not pre-Christian, the attitude toward Gentiles is); 90.18; Ass. Mos. 10.7-10; 4 Ezra 13.37f., 49. Some rabbinic opinions reflect similar attitudes; R. Simeon b. Yohai said the best among Gentiles should be put to death (J. Kiddushin 66cd; TR 1590). Cf. Bonsèrvin, Le Judaïsme palestinien au temps de Jésus-Christ, I, 99-107.

[1]II En. 8, 9; 4 Ezra 7.112-14; 8.46, 52-54; II Baruch 44.8-12; cf. Str-B IV, 1130-65. Note also the rabbinic emphasis upon the age to come, e.g. M. Aboth 4.16; M. Sanhedrin 10.1-4. Cf. Bonsèrvin, op. cit., I, 310-21; Str-B IV, 816-44, 968-76.

[2]Isa. 14.2; 66.18f.; I En. 90.30; II Baruch 72.2-6; Ps. Sol. 17.32; cf. Bonsèrvin, op. cit., I, 457-60.

[3]Jewish proselyting activity aimed not only at

respect upon the Gentile σεβόμενοι, who accepted Jewish teachings but would not submit to circumcision.[1] Jewish Christians who had shared such attitudes might readily accept Gentiles into the church; or they may have felt that acceptance of the Old Testament God, coupled with a willingness to submit to his commands and to be baptised, actually brought Gentile Christians into Judaism.[2] Some of the participants in the council at

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making full converts but also at extending God's rule by teaching men to observe at least some of his commands. Note the statement of three Gentiles (B. Shabbath 31a): "The anger of Shammai would have driven us out of the world, but Hillel's calmness brought us under the wings of the Shekinah." Cf. also M. Aboth 1.12: "Hillel said: Be of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace, loving mankind and bringing them nigh to the Law." Note also the statement of R. Eliezer that all men will eventually turn to Judaism (B. Abodah Zarah 24a).

On Jewish missionary endeavour cf. Schürer, op. cit., II.2, 291-327; Bousset-Gressmann, Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter, pp. 76-85; Bonservin, op. cit., I, 22-34; W. G. Braude, Jewish Proselyting in the First Five Centuries of the Common Era (Providence, R. I., 1940).

[1]Cf. Schürer, op. cit., II.2, 304-19; K. Lake, "Proselytes and God-Fearers," Jackson and Lake, eds., The Beginnings of Christianity, V, 74-96; Braude, op. cit., pp. 137f.

[2]To become a Jew one had to submit to circumcision and baptism and had to bring a sacrifice; cf. B. Kerithoth 8b; M. Kerithoth 2.1; M. Pesahim 8.8; Schürer, op. cit., II.2, 319ff. Sacrifice was probably

Jerusalem may have taken this view.[1]

Besides re-examining their understanding of the law and their attitudes toward Gentiles, Jewish Christians had also to determine a Christian attitude toward non-Christian Jews and to explain the Jewish

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not considered as significant as baptism and circumcision; the opinion that "a proselyte's atonement is yet incomplete until the blood [of his offering] has been tossed for him" (M. Kerithoth 2.1) is attributed only to R. Eliezer b. Jacob. The years of exile and the existence of the Diaspora tended to minimise the importance of temple sacrifice. In any case sacrifice must have ended in A.D. 70 (but cf. K. W. Clark, "Worship in the Jerusalem Temple after A.D. 70," NTS 6 [1959-60], 269-80).

Circumcision was not required of all proselytes. For females becoming Jews, whose numbers were substantial (cf. e.g. Josephus, Bell. Jud. 2.20.2, on the women in Damascus), baptism was the decisive rite of initiation; some Jews felt that it should be decisive for all proselytes. R. Joshua said that a person baptised but not circumcised should be accepted as a proselyte (B. Yebamoth 46a). Sib. Or. 4.162-68 calls upon men to be baptised but does not mention circumcision. Josephus recorded that when King Izates wanted to become a Jew his Jewish advisor told him not to be circumcised (Josephus, Antt. 20.2.4). A passage in Sifra on Leviticus 24.37 (TR 209) implies that if a man undertakes to keep only one commandment (concerning the prohibition of usury) he has accepted the yoke of the kingdom of heaven. Cf. also S. Zeitlin, "Who is a Jew?" JQR 49 (1959), 249ff.

[1]The decree of Acts 15.20, 29, presupposes baptism and requires the observation of Jewish laws concerning meat and marriage. Cf. Haenchen, op. cit., p. 390.

failure to accept Christianity. Some Jewish Christians probably considered the blindness of other Jews a judgement upon the sin of the nation; the thunderings of the prophets, the pessimism of the apocalyptists, and the idea of a faithful remnant could have led them to such a conclusion.[1] Members of Jewish groups with sectarian attitudes had probably always considered the rest of Judaism corrupt; as Jewish Christians they presumably retained this attitude.[2] When Judaism hardened in its rejection of Christianity and refused to allow Jewish Christians to participate in synagogue worship, Jewish Christians may often have coupled a love for fellow Jews with bitterness toward Jewish religious leaders.[3]

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[1]Cf. e.g. Amos 9.7-10, which implies that only a few Israelites will be saved. Note also the destruction of the blind sheep (Jews) in I En. 90.6f., 26f. On the pessimism of Jewish apocalyptic thought cf. Bousset-Gressmann, op. cit., pp. 509f.

[2]Qumran sectarians considered themselves the only true Israel; cf. Dam. Doc. 1.3-12; 2.14 to 3.21; Schubert, op. cit., pp. 80-84. Note the opposition against Pharisees, priests, and scribes in Ass. Mos. 5.4-6; 6.1; 7.3. R. H. Charles, Ap & Ps II, 419, denied that Ass. Mos. opposed Pharisees, but cf. Lagrange, Le Judaïsme avant Jesus-Christ, p. 239; Stauffer, Jerusalem und Rom im Zeitalter Jesu Christi, p. 65.

[3]Matthew's Gospel reflects a feeling of kinship

These attitudes, with their roots in pre-Christian Judaism, probably existed in the earliest Christian communities. But after the destruction of the temple, the exclusion of Christians from synagogue worship, and the Bar Cochba revolt, Jewish Christianity had to take a new direction. With the possibility gone of retaining ties with both Judaism and Christianity, Jewish Christianity was doomed to an eventual death. Some Jewish Christians chose to live within the Gentile church and may have represented all the varied strands of earlier Jewish Christianity. Those who attempted to maintain their Jewish-Christian identity in isolation from both Judaism and Christianity probably also reflected the diversity. Although many Jewish Christians held beliefs considered orthodox by the rest of the church, schismatic tendencies often developed because Gentile

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with Israel (cf. Matt. 9.33; 10.5f., 23; 15.24) but presents the strongest opposition against the Pharisees. Cf. Matt. 3.7f. (Luke 3.7f.); Matt. 9.34 and 12.24 (Mark 3.22; Luke 11.15); Matt. 10.17; 15.12-14 (Luke 6.39); Matt. 21.31; 23.15, 24. Matthew avoids any kind of references to Pharisees, while Luke records that a Pharisee asked Jesus to dinner (Luke 11.37) and presents a friendly attitude toward Pharisees in Acts 5.34-39 and 23.9. Note also the Pharisee in John 3.1f. Matthew also contains no parallel to Mark 12.32-34.

Christians objected to any retention of Jewish practices; practice, not belief, caused them to be classified as heretics.[1] Those who followed the example set by some pre-Christian Jewish sects and chose to separate from their coreligionists[2] were necessarily most susceptible to heretical developments. Such developments, often related to heterodox tendencies within pre-Christian Judaism,[3] also contributed to the variety

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[1]Cf. Justin, Dial. 47; Ignatius, Magn. 10; Epiphanius, Pan. 29.7; Augustine, Epist. 75.13. For patristic notices on Jewish-Christian sects see A. Hilgenfeld, Judenthum und Judenchristenthum (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 31-115.

[2]Note the isolation of the Qumran sect. Dam. Doc. 4.2-4 implies that the withdrawal into the desert was at least partly voluntary, although some persecution may also have prompted it.

[3]Scholars have attempted to link the Ebionites described by Epiphanius (Pan. 30) with the Essenes; cf. Schoeps, op. cit., pp. 247-55; J. L. Teicher, "Die Schriftrollen vom Toten Meer--Dokumente der jüdische-christliche Sekte der Ebioniten," ZRGG 3 (1951), 193-209; idem, "The Essenes," K. Aland and F. L. Cross, eds., Studia Patristica, I (Berlin, 1957), 540-45; K. Schubert, "Die jüdischen und judenchristlichen Sekten im Lichte des Handschriftenfundes von 'En Feščha," Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, 74 (1952), 37-41; O. Cullmann, "Die neuentdeckten Qumrantexte und das Judenchristentum der Pseudoklementinen," Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann (Berlin, 1957), pp. 35-51; Daniélou, Théologie du judéo-christianisme, pp. 68-76.

But the parallel is closer between the Nasaraeans

within Jewish Christianity.

Some of the heresies combatted by the church fathers probably arose from these groups; at least that is how Hegesippus traced the origin of heresy. In the second century, Hegesippus wrote, most Jewish and Gentile Christians agreed concerning the fundamental teachings of Christianity.[1] But heresy, he said, had arisen after the death of James, when members of Jewish sects introduced sectarian tendencies into Jewish Christianity; the followers of some of these Jewish-Christian sects then developed the Gnostic heresies.[2]

(above, p. 66 n. 2) and the Ebionites. Ebionite rejection of parts of the OT is paralleled in Nasaraean belief, but not in Essene teaching. Ebionite rejection of sacrifice is unrelated to Essene opposition to the temple cultus. Essenes considered the temple administration corrupt; Ebionites, like Nasaraeans, were vegetarians. Cf. J. A. Fitzmeyer, "The Qumran Scrolls, the Ebionites, and their Literature," K. Stendahl, ed., The Scrolls and the New Testament (London, 1958), pp. 208-31.

[1]HE 4.22.3: Hegesippus found in all the churches he visited a faithful adherence to the law, the prophets, and the Lord. On Hegesippus' work, of which only fragments remain, cf. Th. Zahn, Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur, VI (Leipzig, 1900), 228-301; N. Hyldahl, "Hegesipps Hypomnemeta," Studia Theologica, 14 (1960), 70-113.

[2]HE 4.22.4-7. Hegesippus named the Jewish sects

Whether or not Hegesippus was completely right, some of the sects that arose in the church resulted from the diversity within Jewish Christianity.[1] And within this diversity there were sects with ideas close to those found in Gnostic systems. The Elkesaites, who reflected ideas found elsewhere in Jewish Christianity

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as Essenes, Galileans, Hemerobaptists, Masbotheans, Samaritans, Sadducees, and Pharisees. Among the resultant Jewish-Christian sects were Masbotheans (again) and the followers of Simon, Cleobios, Dositheus, and Gorthaios; from them came the sects associated with Menander, Marcion, Carpocrates, Valentinus, Basilides, and Saturnilus.

Hegesippus stated that the Christians in Jerusalem removed to Pella in A.D. 70 (HE 3.5.3; cf. Epiphanius, Pan. 29.7; 30.2). Although some scholars have dismissed the flight as unhistorical (see above, p. 52) there is no reason to suppose that such a migration could not have taken place. The existence of the church in Jerusalem after A.D. 70 (Hegesippus in HE 3.11; 4.5) indicates that the flight was followed by a general return to Jerusalem (Hoennicke, Das Judenchristentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert, pp. 104-06; Simon, Verus Israel, p. 305 n. 3; Goppelt, Christentum und Judentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert, p. 164). If some who fled to Pella did not return with the rest, that fact could explain the Ebionite claim to a link with the Jerusalem church; cf. Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums, pp. 262-77.

[1]Hegesippus attributed the rise of heresy to sectarian Jewish Christianity, but some scholars have considered his testimony evidence of a Jewish origin of Gnosticism; cf. Friedländer, Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus, p. 12; Quispel, "Christliche Gnosis und jüdische Heterodoxie," Evangelische Theologie, 14 (1954), 477; Grant, Gnosticism and Early Christianity, p. 14.

and in pre-Christian Judaism,[1] also displayed significant syncretistic traits; but they were not Gnostics.[2] Cerinthus, another product of Jewish Christianity,[3] distinguished between the creator of the universe and the unknown Father[4] and made a distinction between the human Jesus and the divine Spirit that

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[1]On the Elkesaites, cf. Bousset, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis, pp. 154-59; Thomas, Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie, pp. 140-56; Schoeps, op. cit., pp. 325-34; Goppelt, op. cit., pp. 168-71; Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 76-80. Their vegetarianism and rejection of sacrifice (Epiphanius, Pan. 19.3) and their rejection of parts of Scripture (HE 6.38) links them with the Jewish Nasaraeans and the Jewish-Christian Ebionites of Epiphanius (see above, p. 82 n. 3).

[2]Goppelt, op. cit., p. 170, gave a list of their syncretistic traits and called the system "magisch-gnostisch." Schoeps, op. cit., p. 325, called it a "gnostischen Ebionitismus." But the system contained none of the traits central to Gnostic systems; it was syncretistic but not Gnostic. In its original form the Elkesaite religion may have been based upon Jewish, rather than Jewish-Christian, ideas (Thomas, op. cit., p. 154 n. 1); but its development was within Jewish-Christian circles. Hippolytus, Elench. 10.29, summarised the Christian elements in the Elkesaite system.

[3]On Cerinthus cf. G. Bardy, "Cérinthe," RB 30 (1921), 344-73; Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 80f.; Wilson, The Gnostic Problem, pp. 101f. The link with Jewish Christianity is evident from his insistence upon circumcision and Sabbath observance and from the fact that he used only Matthew's Gospel (Epiphanius, Pan. 28.5). But Hoennicke, op. cit., p. 138 n. 1, denied that Cerinthus was a Jewish Christian.

[4]Irenaeus, Haer. 1.26.1.

descended upon him at baptism.[1] At the same time, Cerinthus' millenial views seem incompatible with a Gnostic understanding of the world as evil.[2] The system of the Gnostic Justin was also related to some kind of Jewish Christianity.[3]

Hegesippus stated that Jewish Christianity eventually developed the sects connected with Menander, Marcion, Carpocrates, Valentinus, Basilides, and Saturnilus.[4] But he indicated that these sects were not

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[1]Wilson, who referred to Cerinthus as "the first Christian Gnostic in the full sense" (Wilson, op. cit., p. 100), singled out these two aspects of Cerinthus' teaching as "Gnostic traits" (p. 102).

[2]Because of Cerinthus' millenial views some scholars have assumed a relationship between Cerinthus and the Jewish Zealots; cf. Bo Reicke, Diakonie, Festfreude und Zelos in Verbindung mit der altchristlichen Agapenfeier (Uppsala, 1951), pp. 283-87; Daniélou, op. cit., p. 80. But according to Jerome, In Isa. 66.20 (PL 24, col. 672), the Ebionites held millenarian views, and the rabbis also looked for a material restoration of physical benefits on earth. This trait does not make them Zealots. For Jewish expectations of earthly blessings in the coming age cf. Bonservin, Le Judaïsme palestinien au temps de Jesus-Christ, I, 442.

[3]Cf. Hippolytus, Elench. 5.23-27; E. Haenchen, "Das Buch Baruch: ein Beitrag zum Problem der christlichen Gnosis," ZTK 50 (1953), 123-58; Grant, op. cit., pp. 19-24.

[4]HE 4.22.5.

themselves Jewish Christian; they were a development beyond Jewish Christianity.[1] In doing so Hegesippus provided a plausible outline of the development of Christian Gnosticism. He wrote that Jewish Christianity reflected the diversity of thought in Judaism and, after the death of its earliest leaders, developed sectarian tendencies.[2] From the resultant early Jewish-Christian sects came the first heretics,[3] whose followers eventually produced the Gnostic heresies.[4] It seems likely that as Gnosticism developed it was subject to a sectarian spirit that caused inbreeding and let speculative

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[1]Hegesippus apparently considered the first heretical sects (the Masbotheans and the followers of Simon, Cleobios, Dositheus, and Gorthaios) Jewish Christian (HE 4.22.5). He said that Menander, Marcion, etc., developed from these sects; but that does not mean that they were necessarily Jewish Christians themselves.

[2]HE 4.22.4f.

[3]Until Gentiles had developed a distinctively Gentile-Christian theology they must have accepted a Jewish-Christian form of Christianity (cf. Daniélou, op. cit., p. 19). Consequently the earliest Christian heretics, whether Jewish or Gentile, had to arise from within Jewish-Christian circles.

[4]The followers of the earliest heretics were not necessarily Jewish Christians and may not have been Christians at all. Their teachings could thus have contained ideas basically alien to Jewish Christianity.

tendencies reign unchecked. As a result, Gnosticism developed into sects far removed from Jewish Christianity and retained only slight hints of its previous more intimate relationship.

If this view of the relationship between Jewish Christianity and Gnosticism is correct, it explains the often-met difficulty of distinguishing between Jewish-Christian and Gnostic influence. Some elements in the apocrypha are common to both groups; others may be confidently attributed to Jewish Christians. Such elements do not necessarily indicate that apocrypha containing them reflect the views of a Jewish-Christian sect becoming Gnostic. Jewish Christians who chose integration into the Gentile church brought Jewish-Christian teachings with them also. Christians open to new thoughts, concerned neither to preserve one system as orthodox nor to develop a rival system, could accept ideas from Jewish Christians as well as from anyone else. Among such people apocryphal books found a ready audience; works produced in such circles were bound to reflect the mixture of ideas found there.

The theology held by Jewish Christians resulted partly from the teachings within pre-Christian Judaism;

consequently the whole range of Jewish literature is useful in attempting to determine Jewish-Christian thought. Jewish apocryphal and apocalyptic literature[1] indicates some of the theological presuppositions accepted by Jewish Christians; the scrolls from Qumran[2] and the traditions of the rabbis[3] provide further

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[1]For Jewish apocrypha cf. especially E. Kautsch, Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments (Tübingen, 1900); R. H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English (Oxford, 1913).

[2]For the material from Qumran see, among others, M. Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls; idem, More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls (London, 1958); Th. H. Gaster, The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect (London, 1957); Dupont-Sommer, Die essenischen Schriften vom Toten Meer. For a bibliography of books and articles about the Qumran material see C. Burchard, Bibliographie zu den Handschriften vom Toten Meer (Berlin, 1957). For more recent publications see the bibliographic lists in the Revue de Qumran.

[3]On rabbinic literature see Schürer, A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, I.1, 117-66; M. Mielziner, Introduction to the Talmud (New York, 1925); H. L. Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash (Philadelphia, 1931). For English translations see H. Danby, The Mishnah (Oxford, 1933); I. Epstein, ed., The Babylonian Talmud (London, 1935-52); H. Freedman and M. Simon, eds., Midrash Rabbah (London, 1939).

For selections from rabbinic literature, see W. Bacher, Die Agada der Tannaiten (Strassburg, 1884-90); A. Wünsche, Der babylonische Talmud in seinen haggadischen Bestandtheilen (Leipzig, 1886-89); H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament

evidence. Of particular significance are Jewish writings known to have been used by Jewish Christians. Some interpolations into Jewish books indicate their use among Christians;[1] it must be assumed that Jewish Christians introduced these books into Christian circles. Sometimes it is impossible to determine whether a work is Jewish Christian in origin or is Jewish with Christian interpolations.[2] In either case

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aus Talmud und Midrasch (München, 1922-28, 1956); C. G. Montefiore and H. Loewe, A Rabbinic Anthology (London, 1938); L. Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews (Philadelphia, 1936-47); J. Bonservin, Textes rabbiniques des deux premiers siècles chrétiens pour servir à l'intelligence du Nouveau Testament (Rome, 1955).

[1]Scholars often disagree as to the extent of the Christian interpolations. For lists of such interpolations in the Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs cf. R. H. Charles, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (London, 1908), pp. lxi-lxv; M. Philonenko, "Les interpolations chrétiennes des Testaments des douze patriarches et les manuscrits de Qumran," Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse, 37 (1958), 309-43; 38 (1959), 14-38.

[2]The Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs have been generally considered Jewish with Christian interpolations (cf. above, n. 1), but M. de Jonge, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: a Study of their Text, Composition and Origin (Assen, 1953), argued that they were Jewish Christian in origin. Cf. also F.-M. Braun, "Les testaments des XII patriarches et le problème de leur origine," RB 67 (1960), 516-49; de Jonge, "Christian Influence in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," Vetus Testamentum, 4 (1960), 182-235. The similitudes

such a book may be used to help determine Jewish-Christian thought.

Scholars have accepted only a few writings as definitely Jewish Christian. Jewish Christians produced the Gospel of the Hebrews and the Ebionite Gospel,[1] but so little remains of these works that their value for determining Jewish-Christian thought is limited. The New Testament books reflect some Jewish-Christian thought; but because Gentile Christians also accepted the New Testament and its teachings it cannot be used to determine a distinctively Jewish-Christian theology. Patristic references to Jewish Christians also indicate some of their beliefs, but the fathers, interested primarily in exposing heretical tendencies, provide

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in I En. may also be Jewish Christian; cf. J. T. Milik, Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea (London, 1959), p. 33; J. Albertson, "An Application of Mathematical Probability to Manuscript Discoveries," JBL 78 (1959), 133-41. On the last-named article cf. H. E. Robbins, "Comments on a Paper by James Albertson," JBL 78 (1959), 347-50. R. H. Charles, The Book of the Secrets of Enoch (Oxford, 1896), considered II En. Jewish, but others have considered it Jewish Christian. Cf. A. Vaillant, Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch (Paris, 1952), pp. ix-xiii; Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 25-27.

[1]The most recent discussion of those Gospels is by P. Vielhauer in Apok 3, pp. 75-108.

little evidence of Jewish-Christian thought beyond these.[1]

J. Daniélou's criteria for determining the Jewish-Christian origin of a work have been justly criticised.[2] But although some of the works he accepted can be considered Jewish Christian only with difficulty,[3] others may well have originated within Jewish Christianity. The Ascension of Isaiah,[4] the Apocalypse

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[1]For patristic refs. to Jewish Christians cf. Hilgenfeld, Judenthum und Judenchristenthum, pp. 31-115; Simon, Verus Israel, pp. 281-314; Schoeps, op. cit., pp. 14-21.

[2]Daniélou, Théologie du judéo-christianisme, p. 21; cf. Munck, "Jewish Christianity in Post-Apostolic Times," NTS 6 (1959-60), 112f.

[3]Particularly unconvincing is Daniélou's argument that EvPe is Jewish Christian; cf. Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 31-33; L. Vaganay, L'évangile de Pierre (Paris, 1930), pp. 107-22; Chr. Maurer in Apok 3, pp. 119f. Also unconvincing are Daniélou's arguments concerning the Epistle of Barnabas; cf. Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 43-46; B. Altaner, Patrology (Freiburg, 1960), p. 81. But others have also considered Barnabas Jewish Christian. Cf. O. Pfleiderer, Primitive Christianity: its Writings and Teachings in their Historical Connections (London, 1906-11), IV, 323; J. Oesterreicher and K. Thieme, "Um Kirche und Synagogue im Barnabasbrief," Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, 74 (1952), 65-70; L. W. Bernard, "The Epistle of Barnabas and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Some Observations," SJT 13 (1960), 45-59.

[4]Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 22f. For a translation

of Peter,[1] and the Epistle of the Apostles[2] seem close to Jewish Christianity; the Didache[3] and the Shepherd of Hermas[4] may also have had Jewish-Christian authors. Other Christian apocrypha and patristic writings may

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of the work cf. R. H. Charles, The Ascension of Isaiah (London, 1900).

[1]Cf. O. Bardenhewer, Geschichte der altkirchlichen Litteratur, I (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1902), 474; Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 35f.; note also A. Marmorstein, "Jüdische Parallelen zur Petrusapokalypse," ZNW 10 (1909), 297-300. The Gk fragments of ApPe are in O. von Gebhart, Das Evangelium und die Apokalypse des Petrus (Leipzig, 1893). The Eth text is in S. Grébaut, "Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine; texte et traduction du traité: 'La seconde venue du Christ et la résurrection des morts,'" Revue de l'orient chrétien, 15 (1910), 198-214, 307-23, 425-39. Cf. M. R. James, "A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter," JTS 12 (1911), 36-54, 362-83, 573-83; idem, ApocNT, pp. 510-20. Another fragment is in Ch. Wessely, Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus (Paris, 1924), 482f.; on this cf. M. R. James, "The Rainer Fragment of the Apocalypse of Peter," JTS 32 (1931), 270-79. The most recent discussion of ApPe is in W. Michaelis, Die apokryphen Schriften zum Neuen Testament (Bremen, 1958), pp. 469-81.

[2]Cf. Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 36-38; C. Schmidt and I. Wajnberg, Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung (Leipzig, 1919); H. Duensing, Epistola apostolorum (Bonn, 1925); idem, in Apok 3, pp. 126-55. The Eth text is in L. Guerrier, Le testament en Galilée de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ (Paris, 1913).

[3]Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 38-40; cf. for the text Audet, La Didachè, instructions des apôtres.

[4]Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 46-49; Quasten, Patrology, I, 93.

also reflect some aspects of Jewish-Christian thought,[1] but they should not be considered primary source material for Jewish Christianity.

The pseudo-Clementines reflect a kind of Jewish Christianity, although problems of sources and dating have not been finally solved.[2] The Odes of Solomon are more difficult to classify. Harnack considered them Jewish in origin,[3] while R. Harris and A. Mingana thought them Jewish Christian.[4] Daniélou considered them Jewish Christian,[5] although other scholars linked them with Valentinian Gnosticism.[6] In spite of some elements of language and feeling common to the Odes and

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[1]Cf. Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 49-65.

[2]Cf. Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums, pp. 37-61; Strecker, Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen.

[3]Harnack, Ein jüdisch-christliches Psalmbuch aus dem ersten Jahrhundert, pp. 74-106.

[4]R. Harris and A. Mingana, The Odes and Psalms of Solomon (Manchester, 1916-20), II, 87; cf. p. 91: "The Odist himself lives next door to the Synagogue and in the Jewish quarter."

[5]Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 40f.

[6]Cf. Harris-Mingana, op. cit., II, 203-05; H. Gressmann in Apok 2, p. 457; R. M. Grant, "Notes on Gnosis," VC 11 (1957), 149ff.

Valentinian thought, the Odes of Solomon do not represent Gnosticism; in them there is no trace of teaching distinctively Gnostic. The unity of the Odes indicates that they were not originally Jewish and later interpolated.[1] The author was apparently a Christian whose background was that of Palestinian Judaism;[2] the elements common with Gnosticism resulted from a common background.[3] Consequently, the Odes may be used as evidence of Jewish-Christian thought.

Some of the apocrypha from Nag Hammadi reflect Jewish-Christian influence. The Gospel of Thomas may contain some Jewish-Christian tradition;[4] the Gospel of

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[1]Harris-Mingana, op. cit., II, 133-38; cf. R. H. Connolly, "The Odes of Solomon: Jewish or Christian?" JTS 13 (1912), 298-309.

[2]Goppelt, Christentum und Judentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert, p. 195. The writer of the Odes had apparently read the Psalms in an Aramaic translation; cf. Harris-Mingana, op. cit., pp. 85-91.

[3]Goppelt, op. cit., pp. 194-97.

[4]Quispel, "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament," VC 11 (1957), 189; idem, "Some Remarks on the Gospel of Thomas," NTS 5 (1958-59), 276-90; Wilson, Studies in the Gospel of Thomas, pp. 117-32. But for a different interpretation see Grant-Freedman, The Secret Sayings of Jesus, pp. 74f.; Gärtner, The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas, pp. 53-65.

Philip reflects traces of Jewish Christianity,[1] and the Gospel of Truth has elements common with the Odes of Solomon.[2] In these works Jewish-Christian elements are mixed with other elements; attempting to separate out the Jewish-Christian influences is often difficult and sometimes impossible. To determine Jewish-Christian elements in the Didascalia and in the Apostolic Constitutions requires similar sifting.

While difficulties surround attempts to determine Jewish-Christian thought, there is sufficient material available to justify an attempt. The work of Schoeps,[3] Strecker,[4] and Daniélou[5] has made clear many of the ideas held by Jewish Christians. But no one has yet

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[1]Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, p. 225, called ideas in EvPh as of "authentically Judeo-Christian origin." Cf. EvPh 6, 46, 102; note the contrast between Hebrews and proselytes (EvPh 1), the dead state of a Gentile (EvPh 4), Abraham and circumcision (EvPh 123), the Sabbath (EvPh 8), and the temple (EvPh 76). Note also the denial of the virgin birth (EvPh 17), a trait common to some Jewish-Christian groups (see below, p. 284 n. 1).

[2]Grant, "Notes on Gnosis," VC 11 (1957), 149ff.

[3]Schoeps, op. cit., especially pp. 71-255.

[4]Strecker, op. cit., especially pp. 137-220.

[5]Daniélou, op. cit.

provided a complete and final summary of Jewish-Christian thought; so a study of Jewish Christian influences must make constant reference to the source material. Sometimes this material provides useful parallels to ideas found in the apocrypha, and then one may speak with some confidence about Jewish-Christian influences upon the apocrypha. But each individual case must be carefully examined.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

Niether Gnosticism nor Jewish Christianity could greatly affect the areas of the church where doctrine and practice were already well defined. But where orthodoxy was not fixed, where Christians felt free to develop their own thought and ideas from various sources could intermingle freely, Gnosticism and Jewish Christianity could have some influence.[1] And in these areas the idea of a Christian canon was not precisely defined.[2] There the apocryphal writers found readers;

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[1]For the existence of a penumbra between second-century orthodoxy and heresy, see Turner, The Pattern of Christian Truth, pp. 79-94. Cf. also Bauer, Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum; M. Werner, Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas (Tübingen, 1954), pp. 134-39.

[2]The NT canon was not finally fixed until the 4th century, but early in the 2nd century the church began to list the books accepted for use in the church. On the history of the canon cf. Th. Zahn, Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons (Erlangen-Leipzig, 1888-92); A. Jülicher, Einleitung in das Neue Testament, ed. E. Fascher (Tübingen, 1931), pp. 450-558; M.-J. Lagrange, Histoire ancienne du canon du Nouveau Testament (Paris, 1933); A. Souter, The Text and Canon of the New Testament, rev. C. S. C. Williams (London, 1954). A brief survey by W. Schneemelcher is in Apok 3, pp. 8-31.

those sections of the church produced many of the apocrypha.[1]

The New Testament apocrypha stand in a class apart from patristic writings. The church fathers wrote in their own names, giving personal interpretations of apostolic tradition; the apocrypha claimed to present directly the words and deeds of Christ and the apostles. The apocrypha may be considered a single class of writings claiming to present with undisputable authority the basic facts from which Christianity developed.[2]

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[1]The apocrypha are often considered books used by "simple people" (Altaner, Patrology, pp. 64f.) and "unlearned Christians" (ApocNT, p. xiii; cf. Quasten, Patrology, I, 107). The writers and readers of the apocrypha may not have been learned in the doctrines emphasized by the church fathers, but they were not necessarily uneducated or ignorant people. Cf. A. F. Findlay, Byways in Early Christian Literature (Edinburgh, 1923), p. 4: the apocrypha "give us a glimpse of popular religion among Christians whose outlook on life was largely influenced by their pre-Christian inheritance, and of the interpretation put on the facts of the primitive tradition by believers who in outlying regions stood apart from the main currents of Church life."

Some non-canonical Gospels originated at the same time as the canonical books (Luke 1.1), but it is doubtful that any existing apocrypha date from the early period (cf. ApzNT, p. xii; Evangelios, p. 8).

[2]Bardenhewer, Geschichte der altkirchlichen Litteratur, I, 368, referred to the "gemeinsamen Besonderheiten" of the apocrypha which allow "die neutestamentlichen Apokryphen als eine eigene Schriftengruppe für sich zu behandeln."

Their writers did not necessarily attempt to give apostolic authority to heretical views.[1] Sometimes traditions about Christ and the apostles developed gradually in various Christian circles and eventually took a final written form. Those who recorded such traditions often intended no dogmatic bias.[2] If some apocrypha definitely aimed at doctrinal instruction,

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[1]Scholars often assume without sufficient reason that this is the aim of apocryphal writers; see ibid., p. 367; Quasten, op. cit., I, 106; Evangelios, p. 6; Altaner, op. cit., p. 72; Schneemelcher in Apok 3, p. 34.

Not all the apocrypha are even pseudonymous; most were written anonymously or were attributed to the apostles by later readers; cf. Prot 25; Inf. Tho. 1 (Gk, cf. Lat 15.4); APi, prol.; AThо 1; EvTho, prol. Among truly pseudonymous works are ApPe, ApPa, EvPe, HiJos, EpAp, and BoRe. Pseudonymous writers intended their productions to be accepted as apostolic. That pseudonymous writing was ever simply an accepted literary convention among Christians is doubtful; cf. F. Torm, Die Psychologie der Pseudonymität im Hinblick auf die Literatur des Urchristentums (Gütersloh, 1932).

[2]The process of growth and collection may be observed within the apocrypha; APh is obviously a collection of independent stories and EvTho is a collection of sayings. Note also Prot and the various works dependent upon it (Birth of Mary; Ps-Matt. 1-17; Arabic Infancy Gospel 2-9; Armenian Infancy Gospel 1-14; HiJos 1-8), and cf. Inf. Tho. (3 recensions) with the works dependent upon it (Ps-Matt. 26-34, 37-39, 41; Arabic Infancy Gospel 36-53). Other traces and developments of these works also exist; cf. ApocNT, pp. 87f.; Evangelios, pp. 293f.

most did not.[1]

The works scholars consider New Testament apocrypha have varied according to the definition accepted for that term. The meaning of the word ἀπόκρυφος is of no value for purposes of definition; "apocrypha" no longer connotes something hidden or secret, but refers to works of doubtful or spurious origin.[2] One cannot call New Testament apocrypha those

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[1]Most Gnostic apocrypha obviously intended to present Gnostic doctrines (cf. ApJn, SJC, Pistis Sophia), but other apocrypha were not written primarily as tendency works. Schneemelcher (in Apok 3, pp. 33f.) has given three reasons for the production of the apocrypha: (1) to fill in gaps in the NT narratives; (2) to use literary forms for preaching the Gospel; (3) to present a particular point of view or propagandize. (1) and (2) can explain the origin of apocryphal traditions and can indicate why they were recorded; this does not mean that apocryphal writers deliberately fabricated pseudo-apostolic stories. (3) relates primarily to Gnostic revelations. In non-Gnostic apocrypha doctrinal considerations are secondary; these apocrypha reflect, rather than present, the views of their writers.

Scholars have felt that originally tendentious apocrypha were later purged of heterodoxy (cf. Apk. Apg. I, 5f.; Evangelios, pp. 3, 10; Altaner, op. cit., p. 64; Quasten, op. cit., I, 130; ApocNT, p. 14), but this theory finds little support from external evidence. It is sometimes difficult to see how any amount of redaction could turn doctrinally tendentious works into existing apocrypha (ApzNT, p. 98).

[2]On the use of the word apocrypha cf. Hennecke in Apok 1, pp. 3*-5*; idem in Handb., pp. 1f.; A. Oepke, "κρύπτω," TWNT III (Stuttgart, 1938), 996-99; Schneemelcher in Apok 3, pp. 4-7.

books once considered for inclusion in the New Testament canon but eventually rejected.[1] E. Hennecke made a definition partly on the basis of date: the New Testament apocrypha consisted of works considered authoritative by the church and written before the time of Origen.[2] Consequently he included in the New Testament apocrypha the Apostolic Fathers as well as Christian works attributed to Old Testament saints.[3]

Although attempts at a short definition inevitably bring difficulty, modern writers generally agree upon the books to be considered New Testament apocrypha. They are books which in form and content claim apostolic authority alongside (or in place of) the writings of the New Testament.[4] These writings fall into the same

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[1]Cf. W. Hone, The Apocryphal New Testament, being all the Gospels, Epistles, and Other Pieces . . . not Included in the New Testament by its Compilers (London, 1820), pp. iii-vi. A list of such works would include only the Apostolic Fathers, ApPe, and possibly APa (cf. ApocNT, pp. xviif.). For early lists of canonical books, cf. Schneemelcher in Apok 3, pp. 18-31. A full discussion of these lists is in Zahn, op. cit., II, 1-318.

[2]Apok 1, pp. 5*f.; cf. Apok 2, p. V.

[3]See Apok 1, Apok 2, and Handb.

[4]Bardenhewer, op. cit., I, 367; E. Amann,

classifications as the New Testament books: Gospels, Acts, epistles, and apocalypses.[1]

"Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament," Dictionnaire de la Bible, supplément, I (Paris, 1928), 465; Quasten, op. cit., I, 106; Altaner, op. cit., p. 64; Evangelios, pp. 2f.; ApzNT, pp. xvif.; Apok 3, p. 6. Cf. also ApocNT, p. xviii; J. A. Fabricius, Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti, III (Hamburg, 1719), praef.

[1]Most apocrypha are Gospels or Acts. EpAp takes the form of a letter, but its contents are those of a Gospel. It is included among the Gospels in Apok 3, pp. 126-55, but Michaelis, ApzNT, p. 467, considered it an apocalypse. Cf. Altaner, op. cit., p. 83: "The border line between apocryphal letters and apocryphal apocalypses cannot always be defined with certainty." III Cor has been considered part of APa, but the publication of Papyrus Bodmer X may alter that opinion; cf. M. Testuz, Papyrus Bodmer X-XII (Cologny-Geneve, 1959), pp. 23-25. Other apocryphal epistles have little relevance to the present study; see the correspondence between Christ and Abgar (HE 1.13), the Epistle of the Lord (Evangelios, pp. 712-25), and the epistles in Fabricius, op. cit., II, 834-928; III, 661-718.

Of apocryphal apocalypses only ApPe and ApPa are of much interest; cf. the Apocalypse of John, in C. Tischendorf, Apocalypses apocryphae (Lipsiae, 1866), pp. 70-94, and the Apocalypse of Thomas (ApocNT, pp. 555-62). For other apocryphal apocalypses and epistles cf. Altaner, op. cit., pp. 84-90; Quasten, op. cit., I, 149-57; ApocNT, pp. 563-68; J. R. Harris, The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, Together with the Apocalypses of Each One of them (Cambridge, 1910). Apocrypha in which Christ reveals to his disciples various secrets of the universe are more properly classed as Gospels than as apocalypses.

For the apocryphal Gospels see especially Apok 3 and Evangelios. The most valuable works on the apocryphal Acts are Apk, Apg., Aa, and ApocNT, pp. 228-475; cf. also Amann, art. cit., cols. 488-518.

But in connexion with this definition two classes of works must be mentioned. The pseudo-apostolic church orders claim apostolic origin;[1] but their subject matter differs greatly from that of the New Testament, and modern writers do not include them among the apocrypha.[2] On the other hand, collections of New Testament apocrypha usually include isolated sayings of Christ and stories about him and the apostles, even when those sayings and stories are not found in any apocryphal book.[3] Such sayings and stories implicitly claim

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[1]Cf. the Didache, Didascalia, and Const. Ap.; Altaner, op. cit., pp. 54-61.

[2]Altaner, op. cit., pp. 65-90; Quasten, op. cit., I, 111-57; Bardenhewer, op. cit., I, 365-481; cf. ApocNT, pp. xxiiif. P. A. van Stempvoort, Waarheid en verbeelding rondom het Nieuwe Testament (Nijkerk, 1955), p. 14, gave a definition of NT apocrypha that should include the church orders, although in practice he ignored them: "allerlei geschriften die . . . werden uitgegeven onder de naam von nieuwtestamentische schrijvers en apostelen." Altaner, op. cit., pp. 80-82, 84-88, included among the NT apocrypha both the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas; but there is no evidence that Barnabas claimed to be written by Paul's companion or that Hermas claimed a connexion with the person mentioned in Rom. 16.14.

[3]Cf. Apok 3, pp. 52-55; ApgNT, pp. 1-23; ApocNT, pp. 33-37; Evangelios, pp. 115-30; A. Resch, Agrapha: ausserkanonische Schriftfragmente (Leipzig, 1906); L. Vaganay, "Agrapha," Dictionnaire de la Bible, supplément, I (Paris, 1928), 159-98; J. Jeremias, Unknown

apostolic origin and may originally have derived from some apocryphal writing.

Writers from the first century to the twentieth have produced apocryphal books about Christ and the apostles.[1] In the present study, however, writings produced after the sixth century have been left out of account. By that time the primary doctrinal problems of Christianity had been finally settled by ecumenical councils,[2] and churchmen centred their attention more upon liturgical questions. Theologians began to rely

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Sayings of Jesus (London, 1957). For Jewish traditions about Christ and the apostles see Laible, Jesus Christus im Thalmud; Herford, Christianity in Talmud and Midrash; A. Meyer in Handb., pp. 47-71; H. L. Strack, Jesus, die Häretiker und die Christen nach den ältesten jüdischen Angaben (Leipzig, 1910); Str-B I, passim. For Moslem sayings of Jesus see J. Flemming in Handb., pp. 165-71; J. Ropes, "Agrapha," J. Hastings, ed., A Dictionary of the Bible, extra vol. (Edinburgh, 1906), 350-52; M. Asin, Logia et agrapha domini Jesu apud moslemicos scriotores, asceticos, praesertim, usitata (Paris, 1916-26); R. Dunkerley, "The Muhammadan Agrapha," ExpT 39 (1927-28), 167-71, 230-34.

[1] Cf. ApocNT, pp. xviii, 89f.; Evangelios, pp. 24-27; E. J. Goodspeed, Modern Apocrypha (Boston, 1956). The writings of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (PG 3-4) could also be called NT apocrypha; the writer intended to be taken as the person mentioned in Acts 18.34 (cf. Altaner, op. cit., pp. 604-09).

[2] For details cf. C. J. Hefele, Histoire des conciles (Paris, 1907-52), I-III.

almost exclusively upon established tradition and avoided new ideas; Christian writers compiled anthologies of older opinions rather than produce their own.[1] In the west Roman civilization began to fall under the attacks of the barbarians; in the east Islam overran areas formerly Christian.[2] Writers of apocryphal books

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[1]Gregory the Great (born c. A.D. 540) was a prolific writer (cf. PL 75-79), but he contributed almost nothing to the history of doctrine (Altaner, op. cit., p. 562). The writings of Gregory of Tours (A.D. 538-94; PL 71) may have preserved large portions of the Acts of Andrew; cf. M. Bonnet, ed., "Georgii Florentii Gregorii episcopi Turonensis: Liber de miraculis beati Andreae apostoli," Monumenta Germaniae historica: scriptorum rerum Merovingicarum, I (Hannoverae, 1884), 821-46. But Gregory's authorship of the Liber de miraculis is questionable (Altaner, op. cit., p. 572). Boethius (born c. A.D. 480) introduced Aristotle's works into the church and so marked the beginning of scholasticism (cf. PL 63-64). The writings of Isodore of Seville (A.D. 560-636), the last of the western church fathers, "exhibit but little originality" (O. Bardenhewer, Patrology [Freiburg im Breisgau, 1908], p. 661). Justinian (A.D. 527-65) "closed not only the school of Athens, but also that of Origen, the schools, i.e., of productive theological science and criticism" (Harnack, History of Dogma, III, 155). For Bible commentaries of the period, which simply collected opinions from earlier writers, cf. R. Devreesse, "Chaines exégétiques grecques," Dictionnaire de la Bible, supplément, (Paris, 1928), 1084-1233. On the general decline in this period, cf. Altaner, op. cit., pp. 549-645.

[2]For the history of this period cf. L. Bréhier and René Aigrain, Grégoire le grand, les états barbares, et la conquête arabe, A. Fliche and V. Martin, eds., Histoire de l'église, V (Paris, 1947).

modified older apocrypha along already-accepted lines or turned their creative imaginations toward embellishing stories about the saints.[1] The diversity of thought that marked the apocrypha of an earlier age became submerged. By the end of the sixth century Gnosticism and Jewish Christianity had ceased to have any significant influence. The leaders in the church did not greatly concern themselves with the isolated remnants of these groups that may have existed.[2] The apocrypha came less and less to reflect any Jewish-Christian or Gnostic influence.[3]

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[1]Note the re-use of older stories by later writers (above, p. 100 n. 2) and the beginnings of hagiography (Altaner, op. cit., pp. 252-61). Legends about the martyrs soon took a stylized form; cf. J. Zandee, "Het patroon der martyria," Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift, 14 (1960), 1-28.

[2]But they did attack the heirs of Gnostic thought such as the Manichaeans, Bogomiles, Cathari, Albigenses, and others. For a summary description of these groups see O. Zöckler, "New Manicheans," S. M. Jackson, et al., eds., The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, VIII (New York, 1910), 143-47.

[3]Both Gnosticism and some form of Jewish Christianity apparently influenced Islam, but a treatment of these influences requires a separate study; cf. L. Massignon, "Die Ursprünge und die Bedeutung des Gnostizismus im Islam," Eranos Jahrbuch, 5 (1937), 55-77. The Mohammedan Gospel of Barnabas shows contacts with Ebionite and Gnostic thought; cf. L. and L. Ragg,

Apocrypha dating from the second and third centuries indicate the relationship between Jewish Christianity and Gnosticism in the church.[1] Later works often contained traditions dating from that period,[2] although attempts to separate out the early material are necessarily hazardous. Apocrypha with no apparent Jewish-Christian or Gnostic influences have been necessarily overlooked in the present study.

Few extant apocryphal works may be considered definitely Jewish Christian or Gnostic, although many reflect some influences from these groups. The Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Gospel according to the Ebionites, whatever their relationship to each other, were Jewish-Christian works.[3] But so little remains of

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The Gospel of Barnabas (Oxford, 1907), pp. xxvf., xlv-xlvii.

[1]Most of the apocrypha used in this study reflect traditions that originated during that period. For the dates of the apocrypha used, see below, pp. 420f.

[2]E.g. Ps-Matt. (6th century?) used Prot and Inf. Tho. (both originally 2nd century).

[3]Few fragments of these Gospels remain, and the church fathers are inconsistent in their refs. to them. The Ebionites were said to have used Matthew (Irenaeus, Haer. 1.26.2; 3.11.7) or the Gospel according to the Hebrews (HE 3.27.4). The Nazoraeans used a Hebrew

them that they are not of great value in a study of Jewish-Christian thought. The pseudo-Clementines reflect Jewish-Christian thought and show some relationships with Gnostic thought, although scholars are not agreed as to the nature of that relationship.[1] J.

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version of Matthew (Epiphanius, Pan. 29.9.4) or the Gospel according to the Hebrews (Jerome, De vir. ill. 2). Jerome mentioned a Hebrew book used by the Nazarenes and the Ebionites, a book considered a Hebrew version of Matthew (Jerome, In Matt. 12.13). A number of other writers cited the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Eusebius, Theophany 4.12, referred to the Gospel the Jews had in the Hebrew language, and some Mss. of Matthew have notes referring to τὸ Ἰουδαϊκον. Epiphanius gave a number of quotations from a Gospel used by the Ebionites (Epiphanius, Pan. 30).

These refs. could indicate a single work in two recensions; cf. A. Rouanet, Étude exégétique et critique de l'évangile des Hebreux (Paris, 1904). Or they could refer to as many as 3 separate works; cf. H. Waitz, "Neue Untersuchungen über die sogen. judenchristlichen Evangelien," ZNW 36 (1937), 60-81. In the present study (for convenience alone) the citations in Epiphanius, Pan. 30, are referred to as from the Gospel of the Ebionites (EvEb); the rest as from the Gospel according to the Hebrews (EvHe). For the questions involved, the various hypotheses advanced, and bibliography, cf. Evangelios, pp. 32-57; P. Vielhauer in Apok 3, pp. 75-108.

[1]Scholars generally agree that the pseudo-Clementines reflect Jewish-Christian tradition; see Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums, and Strecker, Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen. Although most scholars feel that Gnostic thought influenced the pseudo-Clementines, Schoeps, op. cit., argued that they oppose Gnosticism; cf. also Schoeps, Urgemeinde, Judenchristentum, Gnosis.

Daniélou, with some justification, included the Apocalypse of Peter and the Epistle of the Apostles among Jewish-Christian writings.[1] In the last century one writer or another considered a number of apocrypha Jewish Christian, but other scholars did not concur.[2] Some of these writings may have exhibited a few Jewish-Christian influences, but perhaps none of them should have been called Jewish-Christian products.[3]

The Nag Hammadi library included a number of Gnostic apocrypha, although few have yet been pub-

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[1]Daniélou, Théologie du judéo-christianisme, pp. 35-38.

[2]For various opinions concerning the origin of Prot, see above, pp. 5f. M. Nicolas, Études sur les évangiles apocryphes (Paris, 1866), pp. 334f., considered Inf. Tho. Jewish Christian; cf. also van Cleef and Hofstede de Groot, De apocryfe evangeliën naar de nieuwste uitgaven van C. Tischendorf, pp. 44-46. Cf. more recently Quasten, Patrology, I, 121. Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 31f., has considered EvPe Jewish Christian.

[3]APi is a possible exception; see I. C. Thilo, Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti, I (Lipsiae, 1832), cxix; B. H. Cowper, The Apocryphal Gospels (London, 1867), pp. lxxxviiif.; Evangelios, p. 422; ApzNT, pp. 144f. See also F. Scheidweiler in Apok 3, p. 331. But for a denial of the Jewish-Christian character of Api cf. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 371f.; R. A. Lipsius, Die Pilatus-Acten kritisch untersucht (Kiel, 1871); E. von Dobschütz, "Der Process Jesu nach den Acta Pilati," ZNW 3 (1902), pp. 89f. One Ms. titles APi evangelium Nazaraeorum; cf. C. Tischendorf, Evangelia apocrypha (Lipsiae, 1876), p. 333.

lished.[1] Many of the writings from Nag Hammadi are not New Testament apocrypha;[2] such works help elucidate Gnostic thought but otherwise do not enter the present study. Some of the other writings in that library, although used and possibly modified by Gnostics, may originally have been written in non-Gnostic circles.[3] That leaves only a few available apocrypha that are unambiguously Gnostic. These include (besides the previously-known and secondary Pistis Sophia, Books of

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[1] See above, p. 35 n. 2.

[2] Some are Gnostic treatises, not apocrypha. These include Hyp. Arch. and OrWor. Some others are more accurately described as OT apocrypha. For descriptions of the works from Nag Hammadi not yet published, see Puech, "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques découverts en Haute-Égypte," Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum, pp. 91-154; Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics. For those included among the NT apocrypha see H.-C. Puech in Apok 3, pp. 160-66, 168-74, 194-224, 229-43, 245-49. EvTr should probably not be considered one of the NT apocrypha. In spite of its title it is a homily, not a Gospel; cf. van Unnik, "The 'Gospel of Truth' and the New Testament," F. L. Cross, ed., The Jung Codex, pp. 104-07; Puech in Apok 3, pp. 165f.

[3] The library includes Hermetic writings and an Apocalypse of Paul much like the already-known ApPa (Doresse, op. cit., pp. 237f.). Van Unnik, "The Origin of the Recently Discovered 'Apocryphon Jacobi,'" VC 10 (1956), 149-56, felt that the Apocryphon of James in the Jung Codex is not Gnostic; cf. Puech in Apok 3, p. 249.

Jeû and an untitled work)[1] the Apocryphon of John, the Sophia Jesu Christi, and the Gospel of Mary.[2] The Gospel of Thomas, Gospel of Truth, and Gospel of Philip are closely related to Gnosticism, but they do not present characteristic Gnostic teachings.[3] Of other Gnostic books mentioned by the church fathers almost

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[1]For these works see C. Schmidt, Koptisch-gnostisch Schriften, ed. W. Till (Berlin, 1954). For an English trans. of Pistis Sophia see G. R. S. Mead, Pistis Sophia, a Gnostic Miscellany (London, 1921). For text, commentary, and trans. of the untitled work see C. Baynes, A Coptic Gnostic Treatise contained in the Codex Brucianus (Cambridge, 1933). The entire text of the Codex Brucianus, including that of the Books of Jeû, is in C. Schmidt, Gnostische Schriften in koptischer Sprache aus dem Codex Brucianus (Leipzig, 1892).

[2]For text and trans. of these works see Till, Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502.

[3]On EvTho cf. the remark by Doresse, op. cit., p. 348: "In its Coptic edition, the work does contain certain Gnostic additions or corrections; but the work as a whole contains elements which are scarcely consonant with Gnosticism." Cf. also Puech in Apok 3, p. 221; Wilson, Studies in the Gospel of Thomas, pp. 43f.

For the lack of characteristic Gnostic teaching in EvPh see H.-M. Schenke in Leipoldt-Schenke, Koptisch-gnostische Schriften aus den Papyrus-Codices von Nag-Hamadi, p. 34; cf. also Puech in Apok 3, p. 198. EvTr also presents no Gnostic system; see van Unnik, "The 'Gospel of Truth' and the New Testament," F. L. Cross, ed., The Jung Codex, pp. 98f.; K. Grobel, The Gospel of Truth, pp. 21-25.

nothing is known.[1] The publication of more of the Nag Hammadi library may throw light on some of these.

Some writers considered other apocrypha Gnostic, but their views were not generally well received.[2] Lipsius considered most of the apocryphal Acts Gnostic books later reworked by catholics.[3] But his definition of Gnosticism was loose[4] and he often read into the material traces of Gnostic thought that were not demonstrably present.[5] Other writers still sometimes refer to many of the apocryphal Acts, or to the Gospel

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[1]For Gnostic apocrypha of which only titles or single quotations remain, see Puech in Apok 3, pp. 158-60, 166-68, 186-93, 228f., 250-71.

[2]On Prot cf. above, p. 5. Some have considered Inf. Tho. Gnostic; see e.g. J. Geffcken, Christliche Apokryphen (Tübingen, 1908), p. 20. But cf. Cullmann in Apok 3, p. 293.

[3]Apk. Apg., I, 3-6. He had the same opinion about other apocrypha also; cf. e.g. Lipsius, Die Pilatus-Acten kritisch untersucht, pp. 43f.

[4]Cf. A. Harnack, Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius (Leipzig, 1893-1904), II.1, 542: "Lipsius hat dem Begriff 'Gnostisch' ein ganz unstatthafte Weite gegeben."

[5]Note the criticisms of his conclusions in Zahn, Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons, II, 877 n. 2, and in A. Rey, Étude sur les Acta Pauli et Theclae et la légende de Thecla (Paris, 1890).

according to the Egyptians, or even to the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, as Gnostic.[1] But the Gnostic character of these works has not been convincingly demonstrated.[2] Gnostic thought may have influenced some apocrypha to a greater or lesser degree, but that does not make them Gnostic works.

Most apocrypha are, as they stand, neither Gnostic nor Jewish Christian, although some show evidence of Gnostic or Jewish-Christian influences.

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[1]The tendency to consider Inf. Tho. Gnostic resulted from the remarks of Hippolytus (*Elench.* 5.7), Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.20.1) and Cyril of Jerusalem (Catech. 4.36; 6.31); it was assumed that the extant Inf. Tho. was an expurgated version of the older book (ApocNT, p. 14; Quasten, *op. cit.*, I, 123; Altaner, *Patrology*, p. 69). But it is difficult to see how redaction of a truly Gnostic work could have resulted in the existing Inf. Tho. (cf. ApzNT, p. 98). The discovery at Nag Hammadi of EvTho obviates the necessity of assuming that the fathers were all referring to Inf. Tho.

Quasten, *op. cit.*, I, 113, considered EvEg Gnostic (cf. also *Evangelios*, p. 57; Daniélou, *op. cit.*, p. 31) and also called ATho Gnostic (Quasten, *op. cit.*, I, 139; cf. ApzNT, p. 407). Altaner, *Patrology*, pp. 69f., considered EvBarth Gnostic.

[2]On Inf. Tho. see above, n. 1; cf. also Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung*, p. 228. For ATho cf. Findlay, *Byways in Early Christian Literature*, pp. 278f. EvEg was apparently an ascetic work, but not necessarily Gnostic; cf. ApzNT, p. 34. There are no traces of specifically Gnostic teaching in EvBarth (*Evangelios*, p. 574).

Many exist only in fragmentary form,[1] while others exist in numerous recensions.[2] These apocrypha, setting out the ideas of no single, well-defined group, are of interest in an attempt to determine the relationship between Jewish Christianity and Gnosticism. The influences they reflect indicate the impression made upon the church at large by Jewish Christians and Gnostics.

Investigators looking for traces of Gnostic or Jewish-Christian influence may sometimes forget that parallels do not always imply dependence and that writers sometimes reached the same conclusions independently. Gnostics, Jewish Christians, and the writers of the apocrypha had a vast common background in the

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[1] A number of Mss. contain fragments from unidentified apocrypha; cf. ApocNT, pp. 25-32; Evangelios, pp. 81-114; Apok 3, pp. 56-74. P. Ox. 1, 654, and 655 are from EvTho. Some apocrypha are known only from citations in the church fathers; see especially Evangelios, pp. 32-80; Fabricius, Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti, I, 335-82; II, 743-832.

[2] Cf. Inf. Tho. (3 recensions; Evangelia, pp. 140-80); Desc. (3 recensions; Evangelia, pp. 322-32, 388-432). For descriptions of NT apocrypha cf. Amann, "Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament," Dictionnaire de la Bible, supplément, I, 460-533; E. Lohse, "Apokryphen II," Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon, I (Göttingen, 1956), 170f.; J. Michl, "Evangelien II," Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, II (Freiburg, 1959), 1218-34.

Hellenistic world, and all three made use of the Old and New Testaments. Sometimes one must simply note parallels without pronouncing upon the question of dependence and must be content with statements of probability rather than of fact. But sometimes apocryphal teachings can be traced confidently to Jewish-Christian or Gnostic influence.

Previous studies of the apocrypha have dealt with the apocryphal works book-by-book, discussing the theology, origin, and influences of one book at a time.[1] Other studies, concerned with the development of particular doctrines within the church, discussed those doctrines within the entire framework of Christian thought and used the apocrypha only for incidental references.[2] The present study attempts to determine

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[1]Editions and translations of the NT apocrypha necessarily follow this procedure, as do works dealing only with a single apocryphal book. But other studies do the same; cf. e.g. Apk. Apg., and Findlay, op. cit.

[2]Cf. e.g. F. Haase, Apostel und Evangelisten in den orientalischen Überlieferungen (Münster, 1922); C.-M. Edsman, Le baptême de feu (Uppsala, 1940); Bietenhard, Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum. Exeptions are some works giving the life of Christ as presented in the apocrypha; cf. R. Hofmann, Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen (Leipzig, 1851); W. Bauer, Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen (Tübingen, 1909).

some of the teachings characteristic of the apocrypha and to examine their relationship with Jewish Christianity and Gnosticism. Three criteria have determined the choice of doctrines discussed: in the areas chosen the apocrypha must reflect a significant difference in their doctrinal understanding from that of the New Testament and the church fathers; the doctrines must be common to a number of the apocrypha; and there must be some evidence that Jewish-Christian or Gnostic influence has affected the ideas in the apocrypha.

CHAPTER V

REVELATION AND SCRIPTURE

At first sight Jewish Christians and Gnostics seem to have been diametrically opposed in their views concerning revelation and Scripture. Jewish Christians presumably inherited from Judaism a high regard for the Old Testament; Gnostics, having rejected the Old Testament God, necessarily rejected his revelation.[1] Nearly all Christians, including Jewish Christians, based their faith upon the Gospel preached publicly to all; Gnostics depended upon secret traditions hidden from the masses.[2]

The production of apocryphal books indicated at least a partial dissatisfaction with the New Testament records; but the writers of the apocrypha were following a path already marked out by pre-Christian Jewish

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[1] Irenaeus, Haer. 3.12.12; cf. Saqnard, La gnose valentinienne et le témoignage de saint Irénée, pp. 75f. On the Gnostic view of Scripture see also Turner, The Pattern of Christian Truth, pp. 167-87.

[2] See Ptolemy, Epistle to Flora 7.9; Irenaeus, Haer. 3.5.1. Gnostic apocrypha such as ApJn, SJC, and Pistis Sophia put these secret traditions into Jesus' mouth.

writers.[1] In fact, some Jewish Christians rejected parts of the Scriptures,[2] while some Gnostics took much of the Old Testament seriously.[3] Consequently attitudes toward revelation and Scripture reflected in the apocrypha cannot always be traced definitely to one particular source. But some of them bear a close relationship with teachings found in Gnostic or Jewish-Christian circles.

I. THE NATURE OF REVELATION

Revelation is the communication of divine truths from God to man; in the apocrypha its content is usually

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[1] Cf. Bardenhewer, Geschichte der altkirchlichen Litteratur, I, 366; Quasten, Patrology, I, 109; Altaner, Patrology, p. 62; ApzNT, pp. xif.

[2] The Ebionites, as well as the pre-Christian Jewish Nasaraeans, rejected parts of the law. On Ebionite views cf. Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums, pp. 147-87; Strecker, Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen, pp. 162-87. On the Nasaraean view cf. Epiphanius, Pan. 18.

[3] Gnostics generally accepted the facts of the OT narratives but inverted their meaning. They never denied, for example, that the God of the Jews was the God of creation, that he (or his subordinates) created Adam and put him in the Garden of Eden, that he later sent the flood, that he spoke through the prophets, etc. Cf. also Irenaeus, Haer. 1.18-19.

information about God or the nature of the universe. The method of communication varies: sometimes dreams or visions indicate future events;[1] sometimes angels give specific directions.[2] Sometimes the earth opens to reveal the terrors of hell, or the firmament rolls back to reveal the splendour of heaven.[3] And sometimes Christ, sitting quietly upon a mountain, gives the disciples teachings never before heard.[4]

The New Testament apocrypha consider some revelation incommunicable in essence;[5] but always at least one person was able to receive it, viz. the apostle who tells of the revelation. More often a

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[1]Cf. e.g. APe 5, 16; AAn (Greg) 13.

[2]Cf. e.g. AJn 76; Prot 4.2.

[3]EvBarth 3.7; BoRe 14b; Pistis Sophia 4.

[4]Cf. ApJn, Pistis Sophia, and ApPe (Eth).

[5]See ATho 131, οἶδα δέ τι, καὶ ὅπερ οἶδα ἐξαγορεύειν οὐχ οἷόν τέ μοι; AJn 88, ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν ⟨οὔτε⟩ προσομιλεῖν οὔτε γράψαι χωρῶ ἅ τε εἶδον ἅ τε ἤκουσα; AJn 93, τὰ γὰρ μεγαλεῖα αὐτοῦ καὶ θαυμάσια τὸ νῦν σεσιγῆσθω, ἄρρητα ὄντα καὶ τάχα οὐ δυνάμενα οὔτε λέγεσθαι οὔτε ἀκούεσθαι; AJn 90, εἴδομεν ⟨ἐν⟩ αὐτῷ φῶς τοιοῦτον ὁποῖον οὐκ ἔστιν δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ χρωμένῳ λόγῳ φθαρτῷ ἐκφέρειν οἷον ἦν. Cf. also ApPa, prol. (based on II Cor. 12.3f.); ATho 36; BoRe 9a; Clem. Hom. 18.6. Note also APe 6, "sanctorum mysteriorum."

revelation is incommunicable because of a command not to give it to others.[1] That command does not mean that no one can receive the revelation, but it restricts the recipients to a select few.[2] The select group consists of those considered worthy to receive the revelation, but the criteria for determining worthiness are not always explicit. In general only those who will obey God's commands may receive his revelation; if possessed by sinners that revelation would make them sin even more.[3]

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[1]See the Copt ending to ApPa (ApocNT, p. 554), based upon II Cor. 12.3f.; cf. Desc. (Lat A) 2.1; 11; AJn 96.

[2]Cf. EvTho, prol., "secret sayings"--but written in a book and meant to be read (EvTho 1; cf. EvTho 62, but note the lacuna there). In ATho 40 a colt says things ἅτινα ἀπόκρυφα τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπάρχει. Cf. the Epistles of Paul and Seneca 1, "de apocrifi et aliis rebus habuimus"; ATho 47, Ἰησοῦ τὸ μυστήριον τὸ ἀπόκρυφον ὃ ἡμῖν ἀπεκαλύφθη, σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐκφάνας ἡμῖν μυστήρια πάμπολλα.

[3]Cf. ApPe (Eth), p. 520; Clem. Epistle of Peter 1ff.; EvBarth 4.66-68; BoRe 9a; Clem. Hom. 19.20 (cf. Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 5.10.63). Note also EvTho 13 and ATho 163, where mysteries are given only to one proven worthy to receive them; see also the Utrecht Act of Andrew 13.17-25, in G. Quispel, "An Unknown Fragment of the Acts of Andrew," VC 10 (1956), 133.

The idea of secret teachings occurs often in early writings; cf. Puech in Apok 3, p. 186; A. J. Festugière, La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste (Paris, 1944-54), I, 309-54 (especially p. 345).

A number of apocrypha, on the other hand, indicate that the divine message revealed should be given to all who will listen.[1] Even apocrypha telling of secret revelations presuppose that some aspects of the Gospel should be preached to all. Some apocrypha resolve the contradiction between a Gospel preached to all and a secret revelation known only to a few by assuming that a secret message is hidden within the publicly-preached Gospel. Only those who are worthy will perceive the deeper meaning and go on to enquire after its full significance.[2]

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[1]Cf. EvBarth 5.6 (somewhat qualified in 5.9); EvMar 19.1f.; ApJn 76.15 to 77.5; SJC 127.5-8; ApPa 51 (Syriac). The apocryphal Acts present the apostles giving their message to all who will listen; they give no hint that part of it was reserved for a select few.

[2]This idea is implicit in EvTho 1-2; cf. ApPe (Eth) 16, p. 519: "I rejoiced and believed and understood what is written in the book of my Lord Jesus Christ." The real meaning is thought to be hidden behind the more obvious interpretations. Cf. also AJn 102, συμβολικῶς πάντα ὁ κύριος ἐπραματεύσατο. EvTr 21.3-7 teaches that only the elect are able to understand the message from the Father.

Such an emphasis may lie behind the repeated "he who has ears to hear, let him hear." Although the expression may have come ultimately from the NT, its repeated use indicates its special significance. See EvTho 8, 21, 24, 63, 65, 96, on which cf. Wilson, Studies in the Gospel of Thomas, pp. 52f.; Grant-Freedman, The Secret Sayings of Jesus, pp. 121, 135,

Much of the concern in the apocrypha about a hidden revelation sounds like Gnostic teaching. Gnostics claimed to have received secret revelations which they communicated only to a select few.[1] They claimed to find hidden in the apostolic message secret teachings unrecognised by the masses.[2] But these facts do not necessarily indicate a relationship between Gnosticism and the apocrypha; the New Testament also mentions that some experiences cannot be communicated.[3] And Gnostics, while they considered the unknown Father

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138; Gärtner, The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas, pp. 208-10. Note also EvTho 19, 38 (cf. Irenaeus, Haer. 1.20.2); AJn 88, 97; EvMar 7.6f.; 8.10f.; SJC 89.4-6; 107.18ff.; ATho 82; MAn 11 (in Aa II.1, 27, 3rd text); APe 38 (cf. MPe 8-9). Cf. also the Qumran Hodayoth 1.21, "Thou hast opened my ear to marvellous mysteries."

[1]Ptolemy, Epistle to Flora 7.9; Irenaeus, Haer. 1.31.4; 1.25.5; 3.2.1f.; 3.4.3; 3.5.1; 3.15.2; 3.3.1; Hippolytus, Elench. 5.27; 7.20; Exc. Theod. 66. On the Gnostic claim to secret tradition cf. Sagnard, op. cit., pp. 416-49; Liechtenhan, Die Offenbarung im Gnosticismus, p. 48. See also Gärtner, op. cit., pp. 109-15, 118-28.

[2]For their interpretations of the NT cf. especially Barth, Die Interpretation des Neuen Testaments in der valentinianischen Gnosis.

[3]Note II Cor. 12.4 (upon which ApPa is based); cf. I Pet. 1.8, χαρᾷ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ. Cf. also the Qumran Hodayoth 10.2-5.

indescribable,[1] were able to describe in great detail anything else revealed to them.[2] Gnostic secret revelations were never incommunicable in essence.

And Gnostics were not the only ones who reserved certain teachings for those who had proven themselves. The Gospels imply that Jesus followed the same practice.[3] At the same time, it is probable that some commands of secrecy were apologetic fiction to explain why certain books or traditions were not more widely known. That was often the case among the Gnostics,[4] who could not otherwise explain why they alone knew of their traditions.[5] Statements in Gnostic books specifically forbidding the communication of what was there were

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[1]See below, pp. 201-07.

[2]Cf. e.g. the summary of the Valentinian system in Irenaeus, Haer. 1.1-2; this gives a detailed description of what is ἐν ἀοράτοις καὶ ἀκατονομάστοις ὑψώμασι (Irenaeus, Haer. 1.1.1).

[3]See Matt. 7.6 (cf. EvTho 93); Mark 4.34.

[4]The Gnostic EvMar presents a supposedly secret tradition, but it ends with an emphasis upon going out to preach (EvMar 19.1-2). SJO has a similar ending (SJO 127.4ff.). EvTr commands its readers to give the truth to anyone who seeks it, including sinners (EvTr 32.35-37).

[5]Cf. Liechtenhan, op. cit., pp. 43f.

probably not to be taken seriously.[1]

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[1]Cf. ibid., and note the detailed information about Gnostic systems that was available to Irenaeus and Hippolytus.

The use of the word ΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΟΝ in the title of ApJn and other books seems to imply secrecy (cf. ApJn 75.15 to 76.1), and ApJn ends with these lines (ApJn 76.10-15): "Cursed is everyone who shall give these things for (ΕΤΒΕ) a gift or for food or for drink or for clothing or for something else like those." This passage could be interpreted to mean that one should refuse, in spite of any inducements, to communicate the teachings contained in the book. But a writer attempting to make that point would more properly have commanded his readers not to give those things for gold or silver or precious jewels or under threat of personal injury. The prohibition names instead the items common in ordinary life: food, clothing, drink, and gifts (in the east the exchange of gifts is still used in sealing friendships). It would thus appear that the writer prohibits the use of the material in ApJn for personal gain; cf. the indications of a false prophet in Didache 11.6.

A passage in the Books of Jeû 43 is closely parallel. It commands that the mysteries be given to "no one whatsoever for the sake of the good of this whole world," but that they be given to those who are worthy of them (cf. Puech in Apok 3, pp. 185f.). It must be assumed that anyone willing to listen to Gnostic teaching was considered worthy to hear it.

An unpublished and untitled work from Nag Hammadi says this about its secrets: "These revelations--disclose them not to anyone who is in the flesh, for [he is] disembodied who reveals them to thee" (Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, p. 197). Until the entire work is available any interpretation of this single passage is difficult. It would seem to mean something like "disclose these revelations to no one at all, cursed even is the one who revealed them to you." But such an interpretation would be absurd, for the contents of the book presumably reveal secrets that a true Gnostic ought to learn. More likely the interpre-

An emphasis upon secrecy, whether for apologetic purposes, to give added appeal to an apocryphal book, or for other reasons, existed in pre-Christian Judaism. A number of Jewish apocrypha contained commands to keep their revelations secret and to give them only to those

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tation should be, in effect, "don't tell these revelations to people who are σαρκικός, the one who revealed them to you is ἀσαρκικός, spiritual."

An Apocalypse of Messos gives a secret revelation, but it also states, "I wrote this book . . . in order that I might reveal it to you" (Doresse, op. cit., p. 157). The Basilidians did not consider it proper to speak openly about their mysteries (Irenaeus, Haer. 1.24.6), but there is no indication that they refused to divulge them to anyone who was interested. These emphases upon secrecy seem to have been for the purpose of explaining the origin and preservation of Gnostic revelations, or, often, to give added appeal to material otherwise uninteresting (cf. Doresse, op. cit., p. 257; Irenaeus, Haer. 4. Pref. 4). Doresse, op. cit., p. 258, felt that Gnostics sincerely attempted to keep secret their primary cosmological and theological teachings. But Irenaeus and Hippolytus witness to the fact that this was not the case; cf. especially Hippolytus, Elench. 6.42f. Gnostics were willing to engage in frequent discussions about their teachings (Irenaeus, Haer. 2.17.9; 3.2.1-2; 4.35.4) and would address any crowds that would listen (Irenaeus, Haer. 3.15.2).

The Nag Hammadi Discourse of Zoroaster probably gives a more honest reason for its existence: "I wrote three tablets: I left them for the information of those who will come after me" (Doresse, op. cit., p. 157). Cryptograms, at Nag Hammadi as well as elsewhere (cf. Doresse, op. cit., pp. 156f., 257f.), probably served only to give added interest to a writing for those who knew (or could figure out) the key.

who were worthy.[1] Rabbinic teaching that the oral law as well as the written one had been given to Moses at Sinai implied the existence of a body of tradition known only to a few throughout the history of Israel.[2]

It is doubtful, however, that these Gnostic and Jewish parallels can explain the injunctions to secrecy found in the apocrypha. The emphasis upon secrecy in Gnostic and in Jewish tradition was primarily to explain the existence of unknown teachings or to give heightened interest and greater authority to them. Both Gnosticism and Judaism sometimes taught that revelations should be given only to those worthy of them,[3] but this fact does not explain the prohibitions in the apocrypha. The apocrypha teach that the knowledge of forbidden

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[1] Dan. 12.4; I En. 104.11-13; Ass. Mos. 1.16f.; 4 Ezra 12.37f.; 14.45f. Cf. II Baruch 54.5.

[2] Cf. Sifra on Lev. 26.46 (TR 220). The Ebionites also claimed to possess secret tradition going back to Moses; cf. Clem. Rec. 2.45.

[3] The Jewish Essenes made a point of keeping their books secret; cf. Josephus, Bell. 2.8.7. Note also M. Hagigah 2.1: "The forbidden degrees may not be expounded before three persons, nor the Story of Creation before two, nor [the chapter of] the Chariot before one alone, unless he is a Sage that understands his own knowledge." Cf. also Str-B I, 447, 450.

revelations would make sinners even worse and that men would misuse this knowledge.[1] These ideas may result from Jewish teaching;[2] if so they probably came into the church through Jewish Christianity.

The idea that certain revelations are useful to the elect but dangerous to sinners has a parallel in the Jewish idea that some secrets contain an inherent potentially-destructive power.[3] But Jews felt that those who were truly worthy could learn such secrets without harm.[4] The account in Genesis of the fall of

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[1] ApPe (Eth), p. 520; BoRe 9a. Cf. also EvBarth 4.66-68; EvPh 103.

[2] Gnostic writings never indicate that knowledge of their teachings could make sinners worse, and the Hellenistic view was that knowledge brought virtue. Only in Judaism did knowledge make a bad sin worse: sins in ignorance could be remedied, but a transgression committed in full knowledge was extremely serious. On Jewish views of sin cf. Bonservin, Le Judaïsme palestinien au temps de Jésus-Christ, II, 81-92.

[3] I En. teaches that the sin of the Watchers consisted largely in teaching mankind the arts necessary to an advanced civilization (I En. 7.1; 8.1, 3; 64.2; 69.6, 8-11); these secrets should have been kept in heaven (I En. 9.6). For the destructive power of certain secrets see EvBarth 2.5, 22; cf. EvTho 13.

[4] Enoch learned "all the secrets" of the universe (I En. 41.1; 71.3-4) and he saw things hidden from others (I En. 40.2; 46.2). He was free to reveal all these secrets to Noah (I En. 68.1).

Adam may have given rise to the notion that knowledge is dangerous.[1] But the real fall of mankind, according to some Jews, came when the Watchers revealed certain heavenly secrets to men;[2] although Noah, who knew all the secrets of the universe,[3] was considered guiltless.[4] The rabbis also believed that certain teachings should be kept secret.[5]

Thus it would appear that prohibitions in the apocrypha against divulging their contents to unbelievers are parallelled more closely by Jewish than by Gnostic ideas. Although emphases upon secrecy may have existed throughout Christianity,[6] it is possible that Jewish Christians introduced these ideas into Chris-

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[1]Some people apparently considered the fall the result not of disobeying God but of acquiring knowledge; Theophilus, Ad Autol. 2.25, attempted to refute that view. I En. 32.6 possibly reflects the same idea, but it may also be a case of extreme compression of the narrative. Note that Adam was free to pass his knowledge on to Seth (Vita Adae 29.2).

[2]I En. 65.6. [3]I En. 68.1. [4]I En. 65.11.

[5]M. Hagigah 2.1; B. Hagigah 13ab, 14b; cf. Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 431.

[6]Cf. Matt. 7.6 and its application to secret doctrines by Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 1.55.3; 2.7.4. Cf. also Origen, Hom. on Joshua 21.2; Tertullian, De praescr. 26; Epistle of Barnabas 9.9.

tianity. The injunctions to secrecy could have come into the apocrypha from any source; but the emphasis upon the corrupting power of some secrets, when possessed by people unworthy of them, has its closest parallels only in Jewish thought.

The idea that the publicly-proclaimed Gospel contained an implicit hidden message was used by Gnostics, but it did not originate with them. The earliest Christians faced the objection that, although they felt that the Old Testament had prophesied Christ's coming,[1] a large majority of learned Jews did not agree.[2] Christians consequently had to conclude that although the Jews read the Old Testament regularly they did not see its true meaning.[3] Christians could see a deeper meaning in Scripture, a meaning hidden from non-Christian Jews.[4] So Christians attempted to bring out

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[1]Luke 24.27, 45; John 5.39; Acts 17.2; 18.28; Rom. 1.2; I Cor. 15.3f.

[2]Cf. John 7.48.

[3]II Cor. 3.14f.; Barnabas 10.9; Justin, I Apol. 31; idem, Dial. 9, 68, 92. Christians had a Biblical basis for this attitude; cf. Isa. 6.9; Prov. 8.8f.

[4]Cf. e.g. Acts 8.30ff.; Rom. 10.6-8; Gal. 4.21-31; Eph. 4.8-11; Barnabas, passim; Irenaeus, Haer. 4.26.1.

that meaning in their efforts to lead Jews into Christianity. The earliest Christians knew of the prophets who had used spoken or acted parables,[1] most of which required explanation before they were intelligible;[2] some Jews, like Philo, had allegorized the Old Testament[3] or had used other methods to give it some special interpretation.[4] Christians followed in the same tradition. And the writers of the apocrypha also used the idea of a secret meaning hidden within the public message. When the Gnostics used the idea they simply carried on a process already begun in the New Testament.[5]

The injunction to the listeners to hear what had

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[1]Cf. e.g. Jer. 13.1-11; 18.1-11; 19.1-12; 27.1-11; Ezek. 4.1-17; 5.1-4; 15.1-8; Hosea 1.2-11; 3.1-5; Amos 7.1-9; 8.1-2. The use of parable goes far back into the history of Israel; cf. II Sam. 12.1-12.

[2]Note also that Jesus gave private explanations of his parables (Mark 4.33f.).

[3]Cf. e.g. Philo, Leg. all., De gig., De mig. Ab., etc., etc. On the use of allegory see R. M. Grant, The Letter and the Spirit (London, 1957).

[4]See F. F. Bruce, Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1959).

[5]Barth, op. cit., pp. 53f.

been said[1] called attention to the fact that a text contained a hidden meaning; the call to understand performed a similar function.[2] Quintilian called attention to meanings below the surface level of interpretation,[3] and the rabbis, with Biblical precedent,[4] used various expressions to call attention to deeper meanings hidden in the text.[5]

A passage in the Gospel of Truth relates the act of hearing to a predestined ability to hear: only those who properly hear the message can be saved, but the ability to hear comes from God.[6] St. Paul had a similar idea: he said the Jews did not receive Christ because their minds were veiled, but he added that only by receiving Christ could the veil be removed.[7] The

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[1]See above, p. 122 n. 2.

[2]Mark 13.14; Matt. 24.15.

[3]Quintilian, Instit. orat. 9.2.65f.

[4]Dan. 12.9f. [5]Cf. Daube, op. cit., pp. 422-36.

[6]EvTr 21.25-34: "Those whose names he knew in advance were called at the end, so that he who knows is he whose name the father has spoken. For he whose name has not been called is ignorant. In fact, how shall one hear if his name is not called?" Cf. the comments in Grobel, The Gospel of Truth, pp. 73-75.

[7]II Cor. 3.14-16.

idea in the Gospel of Truth could have resulted from a reflection upon the failure of Christians to accept Valentinus' teaching,[1] just as Paul's idea resulted from the refusal of the Jews to accept Christ. Gnostics, however, like Christians, did not accept the ultimate implications of predestinarian views; both attempted to spread their doctrines with evangelical fervour. Gnostics emphasized a kind of predestination in their teachings, but probably only to explain why so few people became Gnostics.[2]

That revelation, in itself, brings salvation is implied in apocrypha emphasizing that sin results from

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[1]Assuming, with van Unnik, that Valentinus was the author of EvTr; see van Unnik, "The 'Gospel of Truth' and the New Testament," F. L. Cross, ed., The Jung Codex, pp. 94-101. Cf. also Wilson, The Gnostic Problem, p. 156; Jonas, The Gnostic Religion, p. 178 n. 4; Grobel, op. cit., pp. 26f.; Puech in Apok 3, p. 166. This view has been criticised, however. Cf. Doresse, op. cit., pp. 240f.; E. Haenchen, review of van Unnik, Het kortgeleden ontdekte 'Evangelie der Waarheid' en het Nieuwe Testament, and of Cross, ed., The Jung Codex, ZKG 67 (1955-56), 154f.; H.-M. Schenke, Die Herkunft des sogenannten Evangelium Veritatis (Göttingen, 1959).

[2]The Gnostic classifications of mankind implied a strict predestination; nature, not choice, determined who was saved. But in practice whoever accepted Gnostic teaching was considered pneumatic; those who rejected it were hylic. People the Gnostics still hoped to persuade were considered psychic.

ignorance.[1] This concept came ultimately from Platonic thought, since to a Greek anyone who knew what was best would not deliberately choose anything less.[2] Judaism took an opposite view of sin: sin was basically willful and deliberate rebellion against God.[3] The Greek view of sin affected the whole of the Hellenistic world. Gnosticism completely equated ignorance with sin;[4] the idea came also into Judaism and Jewish Christianity[5] and

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[1]See the Preaching of Peter cited by Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 6.5.39; APe 2; ATho 38; Clem. Rec. 5.4; Clem. Hom. 9.12; EvTr 16.38 to 17.1; 17.9f.; 21.14-18; EvPh 123. Cf. Inf. Tho. 4.3 (Lat): "Sodomita impie et nesciens."

[2]Cf. discussion and refs. in Charles, The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, pp. 42f.

[3]The OT referred to sins of ignorance (Lev. 4.2, 13, 22, 27; 5.15; Num. 15.24-29); but sin in itself was violation of God's will, whether or not that will was known. Ignorance was simply a mitigating factor; cf. M. Shebuoth 1.2-4; Tos. Shabbath 9.5 (TR 737); Sifra on Lev. 4.2 (TR 168); I Tim. 1.13. Voluntary transgression was the worst kind of sin; cf. Sifra on Lev. 16.6 (TR 180); Bonservin, op. cit., II, 26-32. On Jewish views of sin see Bonservin, op. cit., II, 81-92; Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 254; Nötscher, Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte, pp. 48-50.

[4]Cf. Jonas, op. cit., pp. 68-71; idem, Gnosis und spätantiker Geist, I, 113-15.

[5]Cf. Clem. Rec. 5.4; Clem. Hom. 9.12; 11.24; 19.22; 20.4; II En. 30.16; 31.7; Wisdom 14.22.

is reflected in the New Testament.[1] But a significant distinction set Judaism, Christianity, and Gnosticism apart from Hellenistic thought. Greek ideas connecting knowledge with virtue considered necessary knowledge naturally available to all men. The apocrypha, along with Judaism and the rest of Christianity, considered saving knowledge the result of gracious divine revelation. In this respect Gnostic teachers stood with Judaism and Christianity; saving knowledge, they claimed, came only by divine revelation.[2]

The overlapping of ideas concerning revelation makes virtually impossible any attempts to distinguish

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[1]For NT refs. cf. Barth, Die Interpretation des Neuen Testaments in der valentinianischen Gnosis, pp. 52f. The idea was also used by later Christians; cf. Aristides, Apol. 17. It was forshadowed in the OT; cf. Deut. 32.28f.

[2]See Liechtenhan, Die Offenbarung im Gnosticismus; note also EvTr 21.3-7. The Hermetic literature claims to be the result of divine revelation; cf. Festugière, La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste, I, 309-24. G. Quispel, "La conception de l'homme dans la gnose valentinienne," Eranos Jahrbuch, 15 (1947), 249, defined Gnosticism as an experience of revelation: "la gnose . . . peut être défini comme une expérience immédiate de la révélation. C'est cette expérience qui a inspiré les mythes gnostiques, qui ne sont qu'une expression de cette émotion profonde." Simon and Menander did not need revelation, because they themselves were revelation; cf. Grant, Gnosticism and Early Christianity, pp. 108f.

between Gnostic and Jewish-Christian views. Although the apocrypha tell of hidden secrets and mysteries and sometimes connect sin with ignorance, these areas show no definite dependence upon Gnostic or Jewish-Christian thought. The apocryphal writers more probably depended upon ideas common throughout the church and the Hellenistic world. But at one point--the view that certain secrets are potentially dangerous to people unworthy of them--the apocryphal presentation may be related to ideas found in Judaism, some of which may have been carried into the church by Jewish Christians.

II. THE RECEPTION OF REVELATION

Christians felt that divine revelation could come to people through the apostolic preaching or from the Scriptures, but the apocrypha presented a number of other ways of receiving messages from God. As in the canonical Gospels, Jesus' own teaching was considered divine revelation. But unlike them, the apocrypha primarily emphasized the teachings Jesus supposedly gave privately to some select group of followers--in some cases only to a single individual--in response to

questions.[1] In most cases the apocrypha indicate that this knowledge was imparted after the resurrection,[2] with Christ and the disciples upon a mountain;[3] a prominent place among the questioners is often given to women.[4]

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[1]Cf. EvBarth, HiJos, EpAp, ApPe, AJn 97-102, EvTho, ApJn, EvMar, SJC, Pistis Sophia, and the Books of Jeû. Among the unpublished works from Nag Hammadi cf. the Apocalypse of James (Doresse, op. cit., p. 237), Book of Thomas (Doresse, op. cit., p. 225; Puech in Apok 3, p. 223), and the Dialogue of the Redeemer (Puech in Apok 3, pp. 173f.). See also the citation from the Gospel of Philip in Epiphanius, Pan. 26.13.2, and note Epiphanius' ref. to the Questions of Mary (Pan. 26.8.2).

[2]Cf. EpAp, EvMar, SJC, and Pistis Sophia. The resurrection is probably presupposed in ApJn. AJn 97ff. takes place during the crucifixion. The dialogues in EvBarth occur after the resurrection (the work contains a discussion of Christ's descent into hell), but the Lat and Slavonic versions of EvBarth mistakenly set the scene as before the resurrection. The revelation in the Book of Thomas is given between the resurrection and the ascension (cf. Doresse, op. cit., p. 225; Puech in Apok 3, p. 223).

[3]EvBarth 3.1; 4.1; BoRe 14b; ApPe (Gk) 4; ApPe (Eth) 1, p. 510; HiJos; AJn 97; ApJn 20.5; SJC 77.16; Questions of Mary (Epiphanius, Pan. 26.8.2); Pistis Sophia 2. Where a book ends with an account of the ascension the scene is presumably upon a mountain. Cf. EpAp 51; note also the ΔΥΒΩΚ of EvMar 9.5, which may refer to the ascension.

[4]Cf. EvMar 10-17; Questions of Mary (Epiphanius, Pan. 26.8.2); SJC 77.11-13; EvBarth 2.1-22; 4.2-6; EpAp 9-11; Pistis Sophia. Cf. also EvTho 21, 114, EvEg, and the unpublished Dialogue of the Redeemer (Puech in Apok 3, pp. 173f.).

A number of the apocrypha presenting secret revelation that way were Gnostic works.[1] H.-C. Puech wrote that the pattern normal in Gnostic Gospels was to present teaching "die Christus einer bevorzugten Person, einem Apostel oder einer Gruppe von Jüngern oder der Gesamtheit der Jünger und der heiligen Frauen zuteil werden liess."[2] He added that the "üblichen Szenarium" for the revelation was on a mountain after the resurrection,[3] where Christ gave his teaching in response to questions.[4] Origen mentioned the Gnostic emphasis upon the holy women as the supposed sources of Gnostic tradition.[5]

The presumption follows naturally that certain apocrypha--those presenting teachings given privately by the risen Lord to the disciples--found their model in Gnostic traditions.[6] The emphasis upon repeated

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[1]Cf. ApJn, EvMar, SJC, Pistis Sophia, and the Books of Jeû.

[2]Puech in Apok 3, p. 164. [3]Ibid., p. 170.

[4]Ibid., p. 177; cf. also Schneemelcher in Apok 3, p. 50.

[5]Origen, C. Cels. 5.62.

[6]Cf. S. Morenz, Die Geschichte von Joseph dem Zimmermann (Berlin, 1951), p. 121.

questioning from the disciples may not have been simply a stylistic attempt to make a discourse readable; it could have resulted from the characteristic Gnostic teaching that one finds truth only by seeking.[1] Gnostics claimed apostolic authority for their teachings;[2] apocrypha putting these teachings into Jesus' mouth developed naturally and inevitably.

But they did not necessarily constitute a new or original development. The New Testament often presents the idea that Christ taught his disciples privately; the Jews could not understand Jesus' teachings, but when he was alone with his disciples Christ explained everything to them.[3] The Gospels record that on occasion

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[1]Cf. Irenaeus, Haer. 2.13.10; 2.18.3, 6; 3.24.2; EvTr 36.15; Werner, Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas, pp. 128f. In Gnostic apocrypha Christ sometimes states that he is pleased because of the questions he is asked; cf. ApJn 69.14 to 70.2; SJC 115.1-4. Gnostics apparently tailored their own teachings according to the questions asked by enquirers; cf. Irenaeus, Haer. 3.5.1. Note the emphasis upon seeking in EvTho 1, 2, 4, 5, 92 (cf. EvTho 18, 24), and Pistis Sophia 100 (cf. Pistis Sophia 102, 111). See the discussion in Gärtner, The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas, pp. 258-67.

[2]Irenaeus, Haer. 3.3.1; Hippolytus, Elench. 5.8; 7.20; Tertullian, De praescr. haer. 24; cf. also Exc. Theod. 66.

[3]Cf. especially Mark 4.11f. (=Matt. 13.11ff.;

Jesus gave his teachings privately upon a mountain, in response to questions from the disciples;[1] after the resurrection he also taught them privately upon a mountain.[2] The account of Moses upon Mt. Sinai provided an obvious precedent for privately-given mountain-top revelations.[3] The writers of the apocrypha, whether or not they were Gnostics, probably chose this setting in an attempt to fit their teachings into the life of Christ without contradicting the Gospels accepted in the

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Luke 8.9f.); also John 16.12, 25, 29. "Nur in Parabeln, in dunklen Rätselreden, die einer Auflösung, einer ἐπίλυσις bedürfen, verkündigt Jesus nach der Anschauung der Evangelisten seine Lehre" (Barth, op. cit., pp. 53f.).

[1]Mark 13.3f. (=Matt. 24.3; cf. Luke 21.7), which is the setting for ApPe (Eth). The transfiguration was witnessed privately upon a mountain (Mark 9.2, par.) and is the setting of ApPe (Gk). In John 16.24 Jesus tells his disciples to ask in order to receive. Note also the emphasis upon seeking in EvHe, cited by Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 5.14.96 (=EvTho 1).

[2]Matt. 28.16-20; Acts 1.7-12. Note also the mountain-top revelation in Rev. 21.10.

[3]According to Jewish tradition, not only was the written law given on Sinai, but also the oral law; cf. Sifra on Lev. 26.46 (TR 220). Sinai is the setting of the revelation given in the Book of Jubilees. Cf. also the secret teaching given to Joshua in Ass. Mos. 1.16-18, and the secret revelation given to Ezra (4 Ezra 14.45f.).

church as authoritative. They were able even to choose a setting suggested by those Gospels. Any writer could have chosen that setting without having come into contact with Gnostic teaching.[1]

Gnostics claimed access to a non-canonical tradition handed down from the apostles; but they were not the only ones who did so. Clement of Alexandria evidently believed in the existence of such a tradition.[2] J. Daniélou said that the idea arose among Jewish Christians and was only later used by Gnostics in an attempt to give authority to their teachings;[3] but it seems more likely that it was a notion common among all kinds of Egyptian Christians.[4]

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[1]The emphasis upon women probably resulted from the prominence of women in the canonical resurrection narratives.

[2]Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 6.61.3.

[3]Daniélou, Théologie du judéo-christianisme, p. 35.

[4]Probably all apocrypha presenting secret revelations given by Christ to the apostles have close connexions with Egypt. All Gnostic apocrypha presently exist only in Coptic (although most were composed in Greek). HiJos originated in Egypt (Morenz, op. cit., pp. 108-10), and so, probably, did EvBarth (Evangelios, p. 574). EpAp and AJn were probably composed in Asia Minor, but both circulated in Egypt. EpAp exists only

In the apocrypha noted the Lord simply tells his secrets to one or more disciples. But in other apocryphal works a person ascends into heaven or descends into hell to see for himself what is there. In such works dialogue serves only to explain in further detail the things seen.[1] Lipsius felt that such visits to heaven

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in Copt and Eth (with a fragment in Lat). Clement of Alexandria, Adumbr. in I Jn. 1.1, used AJn (cf. the discussion in Apk. Apg. I, 512-14).

[1]The best example of this is ApPe (Gk). The Gk fragment of ApPe is evidently secondary; cf. James, "The Rainer Fragment of the Apocalypse of Peter," JTS 32 (1931), 275; Edsman, Le baptême de feu, p. 58. But ApPe (Eth) also contains traces of the same idea: "And he showed me in his right hand the souls of all men. And on the palm of his right hand the image of that which shall be accomplished at the last day. . . . We beheld how the sinners wept (weep) in great affliction and sorrow," ApPe (Eth) 3, p. 512. "And I said unto him: <Where then are> Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and the rest of the righteous fathers? And he showed us a great garden, open, full of fair trees and blessed fruits, and of the odour of perfumes," ApPe (Eth) 16, p. 519. Note also the works developed from ApPe, such as ApPa and the Apocalypse of the Virgin (cf. ApocNT, pp. 563f.).

Bartholomew observed events in heaven, according to BoRe 9a-13b; and in the Mysteries of St. John John is shown around heaven by a cherubin (sic--ΠΕΧΕΙΡΟΥΒΕΙΝ); cf. text and trans. in E. A. W. Budge, Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt (London, 1913), pp. 59-74, 241-57. The apostles see hell in the Obsequies of the Holy Virgin; cf. W. Wright, Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament (London, 1865), pp. 42f. Paul visits Amente in the Acts of Andrew and Paul (ApocNT, pp. 472ff.). In some apocrypha a dead person returns to life and describes what he saw in the

were a Gnostic development,[1] and Irenaeus indicated that Gnostics claimed the ability to ascend beyond the seventh heaven.[2] Epiphanius noted that two Gnostic prophets had visited heaven.[3] But the references of Irenaeus and Epiphanius do not provide close parallels to what is in the apocrypha; in fact, the apocryphal accounts are largely incompatible with Gnostic ideas.[4]

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other world; cf. ATho 22f., 55; APh 4; Desc. On the relationship between ATho 55 and ApPe cf. G. Bornkamm, Mythos und Legende in den apokryphen Thomas-Akten (Göttingen, 1933), pp. 45-47.

The writer of EvTr claimed to have been "in the place of rest," ϩⲙ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲙⲧⲁⲛ (EvTr 43.1; cf. EvTr 36.38; 40.32f.). "The place of rest" may be the Pleroma; note the refrigerii locus in Irenaeus, Haer. 3.15.2, and cf. Exc. Theod. 65.2, τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς χαρᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀναπαύσεως. For another interpretation of the passage in EvTr see Grobel, The Gospel of Truth, p. 199 n. 632.

[1]Apk. Apg. I, 620f., "Die Erzählung des auferweckten Jünglings von den Dingen, die er zuerst in der Hölle, dann im Himmel gesehn, behandelt ein den gnostischen Schriften beliebtes Thema."

[2]Irenaeus, Haer. 2.30.7.

[3]Epiphanius, Pan. 40.7.6. The prophets (Martiades and Marsianus) may not really have been Gnostics. They could have been ancient, well-known persons (like Seth or Zoroaster) later claimed as the originators of Gnostic doctrines; cf. Liechtenhan, op. cit., pp. 29f.

[4]The Gnostic equivalent of an ascent into heaven would be an ascent into the Pleroma. But since man really belongs in the Pleroma, no Gnostic, once there, would return to the bondage of earth and the creator.

The concept of an ascent into heaven is in the New Testament[1] and in rabbinic thought,[2] and it probably derived ultimately from the Old Testament.[3] The closest parallels to the presentation in the New Testament apocrypha are in certain Jewish or Jewish-Christian apocrypha.[4] Consequently it seems likely that the apocryphal writers were influenced, if not directly by Jewish Christians, at least by literature introduced

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[1]Cf. II Cor. 12.2; Rev. 4.1ff.

[2]B. Hagigah 13a, 14b-15a; cf. Bietenhard, Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum, pp. 91-95.

[3]Enoch and Elijah were caught up to heaven, but they did not return to earth. Ezekiel, however, travelled from one place to another through the air (Ezek. 8.3; 11.1) and felt that he really saw the things he described (in contrast, e.g., to Daniel, who knew that he saw visions).

[4]Enoch's travels through the skies and his description of Sheol and Paradise provide a close parallel to what is in the NT apocrypha. See I En. 17-19, 21-32, 52-56; cf. also II En. 3-21 and III Baruch (which has some contacts with ApPa; cf. H. M. Hughes in Ap & Ps II, 528). In Vita Adae 25-29 Adam ascends to Paradise to receive secret revelations.

The emphasis upon ascents into heaven may have resulted from the Jewish view that the Holy Spirit was no longer given in Israel; cf. Tos. Sotah 13.2 (ZR 1500); Str-B II, 127. "An die Stelle der Gabe des prophetischen Geistes trat die Himmelsreise" (Bietenhard, op. cit., pp. 249f., emphasis his). Other ascents into heaven occur in Apocalypse of Abraham 15-21; Asc. Isa. 7-11; Testament of Abraham 11f. (recension A).

into the church by Jewish Christians.

Often in the apocrypha Christ or an angel appears miraculously in order to direct or comfort someone. The Acts of Andrew and Matthias affords an example of such appearances. The book tells that Matthias, a prisoner in a foreign country, finds comfort when the Lord appears to tell him help will come.[1] The Lord then appears to Andrew telling him to rescue Matthias.[2] When Andrew finds a ship its pilot turns out to be the Lord and its crew to be angels.[3] At the end of the voyage Jesus and the angels return to heaven;[4] but the Lord appears to Andrew again, this time as a small child, and informs him of the trials that await.[5] Christ later appears with further instructions.[6]

In other apocrypha the Lord appears sometimes in the form of an apostle,[7] sometimes as a child.[8] He

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[1] AAnMatt 3. [2] AAnMatt 4. [3] AAnMatt 5.

[4] AAnMatt 16. [5] AAnMatt 18. [6] AAnMatt 33.

[7] AJn 87; ATho (Thomas and Christ are twins) 11ff. (cf. ATho 34); APaThec 21; AAn (Gk 808) 14; APh 148. Cf. also APe 22. In APa Christ performs a miracle in the form of Paul. The text mentions only Paul rather than Christ in the form of Paul; cf. C. Schmidt, Acta Pauli aus der heidelberger koptischen Papyrushandschrift Nr. 1 (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 24*f. (Ms. p. 34). But

usually appears in order to comfort or instruct one of the apostles,[1] but sometimes he appears to unbelievers.[2] In some apocrypha an apostle, after he has been martyred by unbelievers, appears before the Christians who remain[3] or before an unbeliever.[4] Lipsius considered such appearances traces of Gnosticism;[5] he also called Gnostic the apocryphal references to voices from heaven,[6] speaking animals and speaking infants,[7] and

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Schmidt, op. cit., p. 96, noted, "Augenscheinlich . . . ein anderer, d.i. Christus in den Gestalt des Paulus, das Wunder verrichtet hat."

[8]ATho 27, 154; APe 5; APeAn 2, 16; MMatt 1ff., 13, 24, 26; AJn 73, 76, 87. Cf. also the narrative in I. Franko, "Beiträge aus dem Kirchenslavischen zu den Apokryphen des Neuen Testaments," ZNW 3 (1902), 315-35 (summary in ApocNT, p. 474).

[1]ATho 1, 29, 34; APe 16, 35; AAn (Gk 808) 8; APeAn 2, 16; MMatt 1ff.; Abdias 6.22; APh 135ff.; AJn 73, 97.

[2]ATho 2, 11ff., 154; APh 19-21; AJn 19, 21, 76.

[3]ATho 169; APe 40; MMatt 23f., 28ff.; Abdias 7.15; MPa 7; MSteph, p. 165. Cf. APh 148.

[4]ATho 170; MPa 6. [5]Apk. Apg. I, 8, et passim.

[6]AAnMatt 3, 22, 28; ATho 158; APh 22; AAn (Greg) 22; APe 5; AJn 18.

[7]ATho 31, 39f., 74, 78f.; APh 96ff., 100f.; APe 9, 15; Abdias 6.18. Cf. AAnMatt 13-15, and the Acts of Andrew and Paul (ApocNT, p. 473). For speaking animals cf. Apk. Apg., Ergänzungsheft, p. 243, s.v. Thiere.

dreams and visions.[1] Lipsius felt that Gnostic writings were often marked by a Scenerie which included extravagant wonders,[2] so that even when a book contained no clearly-Gnostic doctrines, "kann wenigstens die Scenerie den gnostischen Ursprung nicht verleugnen."[3]

It is true that Gnostics placed some emphasis upon visions,[4] a tendency opposed in the pseudo-Clementines.[5] But a taste for miracles was common in

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[1]ATho 91; AAn (Greg) 13, 20, 26; APe 1, 5, 6, 17, 22, 30 (cf. APe 21); AJn 18, 48 (cf. AJn 21). Note the possibility of a mistaken vision (ApPa 1, αὐτὸς δὲ φαντασίαν αὐτῷ γεγονέναι ἡγήσατο) or an evil one (Clem. Hom. 17.14, 16).

[2]He wrote, with reference to supposedly-Gnostic apocryphal Acts (Apk. Apg. I, 7), "Der beliebte kritische Kanon: 'je abenteuerlicher desto jünger' hält dieser ganzen Literatur gegenüber durchaus nicht Stand." Catholic reworkings did not substantially alter this "phantastische Scenerie" (Apk. Apg. I, 8).

[3]Apk. Apg. II.1, 270, emphasis his. Cf. Lipsius' comment concerning the speaking animals of APh: "Gnostischen Geschmack verrathen vor Allem der Leopard und der Ziegenbock, welche sich in der Begleitung des Apostels befinden, und mit menschlicher Stimme reden" (Apk. Apg. II.2, 16). Note also his comments about heavenly voices and miraculous appearances of Christ (Apk. Apg. II.2, 28f., 120); and cf. Apk. Apg. I, 598ff., 602; II.1, 267f.

[4]For a discussion of this see Liechtenhan, Die Offenbarung im Gnosticismus, pp. 5-43.

[5]Clem. Hom. 17.14.

the church, and what Lipsius considered Gnostic was probably a product of popular taste. The apocryphal use of visions and dreams, and of speaking angels and demons, followed from examples in the Old and New Testaments as well as in pagan religions. There was less precedent for speaking animals, but in the Old Testament a serpent and an ass spoke.[1] The Genesis account of the curse laid upon the serpent[2] does not say that the serpent was deprived of its ability to speak; and the apocrypha do not present as miraculous the ability of a serpent to speak.[3] Similarly the Biblical story of Balaam and his ass contains no hint that Balaam considered the ability of the ass to speak unusual;[4] this account inspired a story about a speaking ass in the Acts of Thomas.[5] Often in the Old and New Testaments angels and demons speak out. With such antecedents, the ability of other beings to speak followed naturally in the minds of the apocryphal writers. Speaking infants were a variation of the same

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[1]Gen. 3.1ff.; Num. 22.28-30. [2]Gen. 3.14f.

[3]AThe 31f. [4]Num. 22.28-30; cf. II Pet. 2.15f.

[5]AThe 40.

idea.[1]

The appearances of Christ or of apostles also arose largely as a result of New Testament precedents. Besides the Gospel accounts of the post-resurrection appearances of Christ, the book of Acts tells of an appearance of Christ at Stephen's martyrdom,[2] of an appearance of Christ to Paul on the Damascus road,[3] and tells that an angel gave directions to Philip.[4] A combination of these elements could explain nearly all the appearances of Christ in the apocryphal Acts.

The idea that the apostles sometimes appeared alive after having been martyred probably arose as an extension of the same ideas. Stories of heavenly voices may also have resulted from Biblical precedent,[5] a precedent possibly heightened by the Jewish emphasis upon the bath qol.[6] Stories about the Lord appearing in

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[1] APe 15; Abdias 6.18. [2] Acts 7.56.

[3] Acts 9.3-6; 22.7-10; 26.14-18; cf. I Cor. 9.1.

[4] Acts 8.26.

[5] Ex. 19.19; II Sam. 22.14; I Kings 19.12; Job 37.4f.; Ezek. 1.24; 43.2; Dan. 4.31; Mark 9.7, par.; John 12.28; Acts 10.13, 15; 11.9; II Pet. 1.17; Rev. 16.17.

[6] Cf. e.g. Tos. Sotah 13.2 (TR 1500); B. Hagigah

the form of an apostle were a further development of ideas already noted; speaking sphinxes[1] seem an extension of the idea of speaking animals. In none of these are there any real indications of Gnostic or Jewish-Christian influence.

According to the Arabic Infancy Gospel it was a prophecy of Zoroaster which led the Magi to seek Jesus.[2] Gnostics considered Zoroaster one of their own prophets;[3] they and others identified him with Seth, Balaam, Ezekiel, or Nimrod.[4] Jews also probably made similar identifications, as did some Jewish Christians.[5] But the idea in the infancy Gospel probably reflects a belief that was common among eastern Christians of that

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13a; Tos. Nazir 1.1 (TR 1427); B. Baba Metzia 59b. Note the numerous refs. in Str-B I, 125-34; note also the Story of Ahikar 1.6.

[1] AAnMatt 13-15. [2] Arabic Infancy Gospel 7.1.

[3] Porphyry, Vita Plotini 16; Hippolytus, Elench. 6.23. Cf. J. Bidez and F. Cumont, Les mages hellénisés (Paris, 1938), II, 249f. The unpublished books from Nag Hammadi include a Discourse of Zoroaster; cf. Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, p. 156.

[4] Cf. Bidez-Cumont, op. cit., I, 42-50.

[5] Clem. Rec. 4.27. The claim that Zoroaster was Jewish in origin probably arose within Judaism; cf. Bidez-Cumont, op. cit., I, 49f.; II, 129.

period.[1]

An allegorizing of the letters of the alphabet is mentioned in the Infancy Gospel of Thomas[2] and elsewhere:[3] Jesus at school gives a detailed interpretation of the lines forming the first letter of the alphabet.[4] Although the allegory is unintelligible in the existing texts, it presumably had some significance to those who first told the story. The use of the story by Gnostics led some scholars to consider it Gnostic in origin.[5] The ambivalence in the texts concerning whether the alphabet was Greek or Hebrew[6] does not necessarily

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[1]Bidez-Cumont, op. cit., II, 117-135; cf. also Evangelios, p. 331 n. 11.

[2]Inf. Tho. (Gk A) 6, 14; (Gk B) 7; (Lat) 6.5.

[3]Cf. EpAp 4; Arabic Infancy Gospel 48f.; Ps-Matt. 31, 38; Irenaeus, Haer. 1.20.1; AThо 79 (Syriac); EvTr 23.3-18.

[4]Similar stories, with a schoolmaster asking someone to repeat the alphabet, were probably common; cf. the Story of Ahikar 8.36 (Syriac); 8.33 (Arabic).

[5]Irenaeus, Haer. 1.20.1, mentioned the Marcosian use of the story. A number of writers have felt that its presence in Inf. Tho. resulted from Gnostic influence; cf. A. Meyer in Apok 1, p. 64; idem in Handb., p. 137; Bauer, Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen, p. 95; Evangelios, p. 308.

[6]In Inf. Tho. (Gk A) 6.3 it is Gk (but Heb in one

indicate an origin in Jewish-Christian circles;[1] but the kind of speculation reflected was common among Jews,[2] and it was not unknown in Christian circles[3] as well as among Gnostics.[4] The allegory may originally have referred to the Trinity,[5] but it seems more likely that

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Me.). In Inf. Tho. (Gk A) 14.1 Jesus must learn both Gk and Heb. In Inf. Tho. (Gk B) 7.1 the alphabet is Heb, but the letters are called "alpha" and "beta." It is Heb also in Arabic Infancy Gospel 48f. and Ps-Matt. 31, 38. In Irenaeus, Haer. 1.20.1, it is Gk.

[1]A. Meyer, in Handb., pp. 137f., said that the original story had the Heb alphabet. But that would not necessarily indicate that the writer was related to Judaism; cf. Zahn, Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons, II, 772 n. 3.

[2]Van Stempvoort, Waarheid en verbeelding rondom het Nieuwe Testament, p. 27, said that such interpretations were "een bekend theologische-wijsgerig spel in de oude synagoge en de oude christenheid." For Jewish speculations involving letters of the alphabet cf. J. Hagigah 77c (TR 1105); B. Menahoth 29b; B. Berakoth 55a; Gen. R. 1.10; 12.10. Cf. also B. Shabbath 104a. For further refs. cf. Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, I, 5-8; V, 5f. Alpha was sometimes used to designate Moses; cf. Th. Reinach, Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaisme (Paris, 1895), pp. 122, 361-63.

[3]The existence of the allegory in the NT apocrypha reflects Christian use of this kind of speculation. Cf. also Rev. 1.8; Eusebius, Praep. ev. 10.5; Jerome, Epist. 30; van Stempvoort, loc. cit.

[4]Irenaeus, Haer. 1.20.1; Pistis Sophia 136.

[5]ApsNT, p. 110; cf. the textual emendation in Hofmann, Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen, p. 222.

its meaning has now been entirely lost. In any case this single story is no necessary evidence of a Gnostic origin of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas. Rabbinic speculations may have contributed to the rise of the story, but no definite conclusions are possible with the little evidence available.

III. THE VALUE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Although revelation came sometimes through voices, angels, visions, ascents into heaven, etc.,[1] the Old Testament Scriptures constituted the primary source of revelation in the early church. The church accepted the Old Testament as an inspired witness to the coming of Christ;[2] the New Testament apocrypha held, on the whole, a similar view of the value of the Old Testament.[3] Even Gnostics, who rejected the Old Testament

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[1]Note Bietenhard's list of the forms of revelation in Judaism (Bietenhard, op. cit., p. 249): "1. Träume; 2. Himmelfahrten; 3. Berichterstattung durch Engel; 4. Berichterstattung durch Gott; 5. Gesichte; 6. Lektüre himmlischer Tafeln oder Bücher, oder Bericht aus solchen."

[2]Cf. Luke 24.27; Irenaeus, Haer. 4.10-11; Justin, I Apol., passim; idem, Dial. 74-76; Barnabas, passim; Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, pp. 64-75.

[3]Cf. APi 4.3; 9.2; 12.1; 16.4; Deso. (Lat A) 8.1;

God, sometimes accepted the view that the law and the prophets prophesied concerning Christ.[1]

But with reference to the prophets some apocrypha also present a slightly different idea. The Gospel according to the Hebrews apparently taught that the Holy Spirit anointed the prophets only for short periods, because of their sin,[2] but rested fully and permanently upon Jesus.[3] With such a view it is possible that the writer of that Gospel did not consider the prophetic books fully inspired.[4] Simonian teaching evidently included a rejection of the prophets,[5] an idea which

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AJn 112.

[1]Exc. Theod. 59. [2]Jerome, C. Pelag. 3.2.

[3]Jerome, In Isa. 11.2.

[4]Cf. EvHe cited by Jerome, C. Pelag. 3.2: "Etenim in prophetis quoque, postquam uncti sunt Spiritu Sancto, inventus est sermo peccati." Here sermo may be a literal equivalent of דבר, in which case the meaning is that "some kind of sin" was found in the prophets (cf. ApzNT, p. 127). But with the Samaritan rejection of the prophets and the Ebionite theory of false pericopes (Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums, pp. 148-76) it is possible that the writer meant something more (cf. Apok 3, p. 96).

[5]See III Cor 1.9. It is uncertain whether this passage refers to Simon Magus or to some unknown Gnostic teachers named Simon and Cleobius.

may reflect Simon's Samaritan origin.[1] III Corinthians taught that God gave a part of Christ's spirit to the prophets,[2] a view not much different from that in the Hebrew Gospel. In the Gospel according to the Hebrews God's spirit was partially in the prophets, but they sinned; it then remained fully on Christ. In III Corinthians God sent Christ's own spirit partially to the prophets, but they were unsuccesseful in their mission.[3] A similar idea seems to be reflected in the system of the Gnostic Justin[4] and in the Gospel of Thomas,[5] and it is also present in the New Testament.[6]

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[1]Cf. Justin, I Apol. 26; Hippolytus, Elench. 6.7; see also above, p. 65 n. 2.

[2]III Cor 2.10, μερίσας οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ πνς τοῦ χρυ ἔπεμψεν εἰς τοὺς προφήτας.

[3]III Cor 2.11.

[4]Hippolytus, Elench. 5.26. Elohim's angel Baruch spoke in all the prophets and in Jesus, but all except Jesus betrayed their mission.

[5]EvTho 52 states that 24 prophets spoke "in" Christ (ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲕ), a possible indication that Christ's spirit was speaking through the prophets. Cf. Gärtner, The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas, pp. 150-55. The same idea may be reflected in EpAp; cf. Schmidt, Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung, p. 209.

[6]I Pet. 1.11, τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα χριστοῦ. Cf.

Some recent writers have assumed that the Gospel of Thomas at one point rejects the Old Testament prophets.[1] But the saying which gives this impression may be given another interpretation. Pseudo-Thomas says that when the disciples mentioned that the prophets spoke in Jesus, Jesus told them they had left the one who was before them to speak of the dead. It is possible that this reply indicated a lack of concern for the Old Testament--because its prophecies had been fulfilled in Jesus--rather than a rejection of its inspiration.[2] Such an idea is reflected at one point in

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also the agraphon cited four times by Epiphanius, ὁ λαλῶν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, ἰδοὺ πάρειμι (Resch, Agrapha, pp. 207f.). Clem. Hom. 3.20f. makes Christ himself incarnate in the prophets and in Adam; cf. the Jewish notion of Seth incarnate in the Messiah (Gen. R. 23.5), an idea reflected also among the Sethians (Epiphanius, Pan. 39.1) and Elkesaites (Hippolytus, Elench. 9.14). Cf. also Epiphanius, Pan. 30.3.3.

[1]EvTho 52. Cf. Grant-Freedman, The Secret Sayings of Jesus, pp. 153f.; Gärtner, op. cit., pp. 155-57. The saying was later interpreted in this sense; cf. Augustine, C. advers. leg. et proph. 2.14 (PL 42, col. 647). But one cannot always determine the original meaning of a text by examining later interpretations.

[2]In this case Jesus' answer in EvTho 52 could be paraphrased, "Now you are concerning yourselves with ancient prophecies when their fulfillment is standing before you." One would expect an outright rejection of the Old Testament to take a form stronger and more

the Acts of Philip: the sole function of the prophets was to predict Christ; there would have been no need even for prophecy had the Jews not been obstinate in their refusal to believe in Christ.[1] There is no indication that this idea was influenced by Gnosticism. But the idea that Christ's spirit was in the prophets may well have derived from Jewish-Christian thought.

The use of the Old Testament as a book of prophecies inevitably resulted in a habit of referring to the Pentateuch and the Psalms as works of the prophets.[2] Christians probably followed Jewish

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obvious than the statement in EvTho.

For another interpretation of EvTho 52 cf. Jeremias, Unknown Sayings of Jesus, pp. 74-77, who considered the saying possibly authentic. Wilson, Studies in the Gospel of Thomas, p. 127, apparently accepted much of Jeremias' interpretation. But for a criticism of Jeremias on this point cf. Gärtner, op. cit., p. 151 n. 1.

[1]APh 78 shows that Philip uses the prophets only for their predictions of Christ. In APh 77 he tells the Jews, Διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν ὑμῶν χρεία προφητῶν. This attitude inevitably resulted from the use of the OT as a book of prophecies about Christ. Once the prophecies had been fulfilled, the book had no raison d'être except to convince unbelievers of the truth of Christianity.

[2]The "twenty-four prophets" in EvTho 52 probably refers to the Jewish reckoning of the number of books in the OT. David is considered among the prophets in Desc. 5.2; Irenaeus, Haer. 4.33.11; Barnabas 6.4, 6; Justin,

precedent in this.[1] But some apocryphal writers may have held a lower view of the Pentateuch. Some apocrypha, in contradiction of the Biblical account, stated that the Devil hardened Pharaoh's heart before Israel's expulsion from Egypt.[2] Others implied that the Jewish law came from the Devil;[3] but in context such statements seem out of place and may indicate textual corruptions rather than a rejection of the Jewish law.[4]

I Apol. 32, 35. Moses is probably one of the prophets mentioned in III Cor 2.10; cf. Irenaeus, Haer. 4.33.10 to 34.5; Barnabas 6.8; Justin, I Apol. 32, 35.

[1]Moses was called a prophet in Deut. 34.10 as well as in rabbinic writings; cf. e.g. Mekhilta on Exod. 15.13 (TR 97). The 48 prophets in Israel (B. Megilla 14a) probably also included David.

[2]APe 8; ATho 32; Exod. 7.3; 9.12; 10.1, 20, 27.

[3]AJn 94. In Desc. 4.2 Satan refers to "populum meum antiquum Iudaicum." This may not mean that Satan gave the Jewish law, although Desc. makes no mention of Moses or the law. Desc. presents Adam, the patriarchs, and the prophets; cf. Desc. 2.1 (Lat A; cf. Gk). It mentions by name Abraham, Desc. 2.1 (Gk), Habakkuk, Desc. 8.3 (Lat A), Adam, Seth, Enoch, David, Elijah, and Isaiah. A late Narratio Josephi (Evangelia, pp. 459-70) 3.3 places Moses and the patriarchs in Hell.

[4]Desc. gives no indication of its attitude toward the law, but the work shows no traces of Gnostic thought. The statement in AJn 94 is omitted in one Ms. and contradicts AJn 112. But the writer could have had a conception of the OT similar to that of Ptolemy, Epistle to Flora (cf. Hennecke in Handb., p. 526).

Some apocrypha accepted the Old Testament as a witness to Christ but emphasized that Christ had abolished the ceremonial law.[1] This attitude reflected Christian teaching common in the church; there is no evidence of any Jewish-Christian or Gnostic influence upon it. Gnostic works usually accepted the basic narratives of Genesis but with a few significant alterations.[2] The pseudo-Clementines give a theory of false pericopes in the Pentateuch, a theory close to Ptolemy's view of the Old Testament.[3]

Such rewriting of the Old Testament history did not originate with Ebionites or with Gnostics but went back at least to the fourth and third centuries before Christ.[4] This practice is evidenced within the Old Testament[5] and continued into the intertestamental

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[1] APe 1. APi considers Jewish Law different, at least in part, from what is in the OT; cf. APi 1.1; 4.3; 7; 14.3.

[2] Cf. ApJn 45, 58f., 73.

[3] Clem. Hom. 3.47-51 (cf. Schoeps, op. cit., pp. 148-76; Strecker, Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudo-klementinen, pp. 162-87); cf. Ptolemy, Epistle to Flora.

[4] Cf. Reinach, op. cit., pp. 14-20, 117-20, 125-28, 303f.

[5] Cf. II Sam. 24.1 and I Chron. 21.1.

period.[1] But the alterations made were only minor revisions prompted by pious motives. They may have foreshadowed a later theory of false pericopes, but they were far removed from the wholesale revisions of Scripture produced by Gnostic groups.[2] I Enoch also at one point hints at a theory of false pericopes or something like it.[3] The theory in the pseudo-Clementines may have been a further development of the same idea and does not necessarily represent Gnostic influence. On the other hand, it is possible that Ptolemy's theory depended upon Jewish-Christian ideas.[4]

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[1]Cf. especially Jub 48.2-3 and Exod. 4.24; also Jub 26.34 and Gen. 27.40. Note that Jub 48.17 states that Mastema, not God, hardened the hearts of the Egyptians. Note also Bietenhard's comment that the writer of II En. is "weit entfernt von einem Dogma der Verbalinspiration," Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum, p. 99 (emphasis his).

[2]Grant, Gnosticism and Early Christianity, p. 58, stated that the alterations in Jub "prepared the way for later Gnostic revisions of the Old Testament." But no one reading Jub and recognising its alterations would, on that basis alone, have thought to rewrite the OT as radically as Gnostics did.

[3]I En. 104.10: "And now I know this mystery that many sinners will alter and pervert the words of uprightness and will speak wicked words, and lie, and practise great deceits and write books concerning their words."

[4]See G. Quispel, "La lettre de Ptolémée à Flora,"

While Gnostics rejected both the Jewish God and, on the whole, the Jewish Scriptures, they were not willing to reject all the Old Testament saints. A number of these saints were considered Gnostic prophets.[1] The great ingenuity used by Gnostics to fit the Genesis accounts into their own systems may indicate a connexion between Gnostic and Jewish or Christian groups. Not all Gnostics relied upon secret tradition; some attempted to find their doctrines in the Old Testament by the use of accepted exegetical methods. In their treatment of the Old Testament they simply built upon a foundation already laid by the New Testament writers.[2] So even Gnostic apocrypha that consider the Bible less than fully inspired may have depended ultimately upon ideas held among Jewish Christians.

VC 2 (1948), 40. Schoeps is more reserved on this point. Cf. Schoeps, op. cit., p. 187.

[1]Note the attitude toward the OT saints reflected among the Valentinians (Irenaeus, Haer. 1.7.3) and by the Gnostic Justin (Hippolytus, Elench. 5.26). The Gnostic Pistis Sophia often cites David as a prophet.

[2]Cf. on this subject Barth, Die Interpretation des Neuen Testaments in der valentinianischen Gnosis, pp. 103f.

IV. THE USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Some of the writers of the New Testament apocrypha used stories from the Old Testament as models for their own stories; some made occasional allusions to Old Testament passages,[1] while others almost completely ignored the existence of the Old Testament.[2] None of these facts indicates any Jewish-Christian or Gnostic influence. But the use of Old Testament texts as testimonies concerning Christ is of some interest in this connexion.

A number of apocrypha present a compact listing of Old Testament testimonies to Christ. A section in the Acts of Peter[3] is representative of these. There Peter, in a public debate, gives a list of Old Testament citations referring to Christ, connecting them only with such expressions as "profeta dicente de eo," or "et alius profeta dicit," etc. Peter never names the particular prophets cited; he simply quotes from the "profeticas scribturas." In the dispute he cites, in

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[1] Cf. e.g. the first few chapts. of Prot; the Biblical parallels are noted in Apok 1, 2, and 3.

[2] Cf. EvTho; AJn. [3] APe 24.

this order, Isaiah 53.8, Isaiah 53.2 (as from another prophet), an apocryphal prophecy,[1] an Ezekiel apocryphon,[2] Isaiah 7.13f., Ascension of Isaiah 11.14, another apocryphal citation,[3] Daniel 2.34, Psalm 118.22f., Isaiah 28.16,[4] and Daniel 7.13.

It seems certain that the writer of the Acts of Peter did not himself collect these references directly from the Old Testament but that he copied from some collection of testimonia already in existence. The rest of the Acts of Peter reflects almost no acquaintance with the Old Testament.[5] Because he copied from a

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[1]"In novissimis temporibus nascitur puer de spiritu sancto: mater ipsius virum nescit, nec dicit aliquis patrem se esse eius."

[2]"Peperit et non peperit," attributed to Ezekiel by Tertullian, De carne Christi 23. This is also quoted a number of times by other writers; cf. G. Ficker in Handb., p. 456; Harnack, Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius, II.1, 560f.

[3]"Non de vulva mulieris natus, sed de caeleste loco descendit," from no known source. Ficker, loc. cit., cited some possible parallels.

[4]Or 1 Pet. 2.4.

[5]The writer of APe mentions that God established all things by his word (APe 2; cf. Ps. 33.6) and mentions Adam, the tree in Eden (possibly), Pharaoh, and Moses (APe 8). There is a possible allusion to Amos 4.11 or Zech. 3.2; and a ref. to sheep possibly recalls

collection he was unable to identify the particular prophets, so he had to use such formulas as "the prophet says," etc.[1] It is evident that he was familiar with these prophecies only isolated from their Biblical context. The use of many of these passages as testimonies to Christ is evident in other Christian writings; possibly because of their use in the New Testament.[2]

Another collection of Old Testament testimonies to Christ is in Abdias' Historiae apostolicae, in a section recounting a speech by James to some Jews.[3] This part of Abdias' work also contains no indication of

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I Kings 22.17 or Ezek. 34.12 (APe 8; the ref. to the sheep is closer to Jn. 10.7-16 and perhaps I Pet. 2.25). APe 20 refers to a blind woman led by Christ's right hand; this may allude to Isa. 41.13, but the similarity could be coincidental. APe 20 expressly cites (from "the prophet") Isa. 53.4, and APe 38 gives an apocryphal citation.

[1]Note that after citing Isa. 53.8 Peter introduces Isa. 53.2f. with "et alius profeta dicit."

[2]Isa. 53 is often cited by the fathers and in the NT. Isa. 7.14 is in Matt. 1.23; Dan. 7.13 is often in the NT; Ps. 118.22 is in the NT more than once, as is Isa. 28.16. Dan. 2.34 occurs with reference to the virgin birth in Irenaeus, Haer. 3.21.7.

[3]See Abdias 4.5-7. The collection of testimonia goes back to the third or fourth centuries or earlier; cf. Apk. Apg. II.2, 207f.

an acquaintance with the Old Testament except in that one small section. There James usually names the prophets cited, although some of the citations are apocryphal and one is wrongly attributed.[1] In a similar dispute in the Acts of Philip, Philip and his Jewish opponent recite proof-texts to each other.[2] The writer of the Acts of Philip also shows no sign of familiarity with the Old Testament outside this single section. He usually names the prophets he cites, but it is evident that he did not draw his citations directly from the Old Testament.[3]

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[1] "Veniet rex tuus Sion, venit humilis, et restaurat te" is ascribed to Ezekiel, but it seems a loose version of Zech. 9.9. Of course it could have come from some lost Ezekiel apocryphon.

[2] APh 77-79. The Jew cites a loose approximation of Sir. 18.4-5, Num. 14.21 (or Isa. 6.3), an apocryphal saying (κῦριος κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν, possibly a reminiscence of II Tim. 4.1 mistaken by the writer for an OT prophecy), Deut. 4.24 and Ps. 97.3, and another apocryphal saying (εἷς θεὸς ἐποίησε ταῦτα πάντα). He also mentions the first person plural in Gen. 1.26. Philip cites prophecies expressly from Isaiah, David, and "the twelve prophets." The Jew begins his answer with Isa. 45.1, ending with ἐπὶ σὲ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν, possibly based upon Isa. 42.4, ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν.

[3] Philip quotes the first two verses of Isa. 65 in inverse order and in a shortened form, and he cites Isa. 50.6 as from a different prophet.

In the Acts of Peter and Paul, Paul has a dispute with some Jews and he refers to τῇ τῶν Ἑβραίων βίβλων μαρτυρίᾳ;[1] then he and Peter recite some Old Testament texts.[2] Unlike the other apocrypha, however, the section does not consist simply of a list of Old Testament quotations, and the writer elsewhere shows some familiarity with the Old Testament;[3] but it is possible that the section was based upon some collection of proof-texts. Perhaps related, but with significant differences, is the list of quotations from the Psalms in the Martyrdom of Matthew.[4] A series of Biblical citations appears in the martyrdom as a unity, although the verses quoted are from different parts of the

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[1] APePa 23.

[2] APePa 28f., citing Gen. 22.18, Ps. 132.11, and Ps. 2.7. There is also a comparison between Eve and the church (APePa 29) and a citation of Ps. 110.4 (APePa 30).

[3] Cf. APePa 10, 26, 27, 58.

[4] MMatt 25. The context is liturgical--a funeral service--and the Psalms are sung by a chanter and a congregation. The choice of passages (Ps. 116.15; 3.5; 41.8; 12.5; all from the LXX) could originally have referred to Christ's resurrection as well as to that of the believer. Note especially Ps. 12.5, Νῦν ἀναστήσομαι, λέγει κύριος. The rest of MMatt reflects no influence from the OT.

Psalter;[1] it seems that the writer must have drawn upon some earlier collection of texts. The Acts of Pilate at one point also gives a series of texts supporting the plausibility of Christ's resurrection;[2] there are no allusions to the Old Testament in other parts of the book.[3] The discussion in the Acts of Pilate limits authoritative Scripture to the Pentateuch and it may indicate a Jewish-Christian familiarity with rabbinic discussions.[4] The Descent into Hell also quotes a number of Biblical prophecies about Christ.[5] Old

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[1]Apk. Apg. II.2, 122. Lipsius, without sufficient grounds, regarded this as a Gnostic hymn and considered MMatt a Gnostic work.

[2]See APi 16.6f., citing Deut. 19.15, Gen. 5.24, Deut. 34.5-6, Mal. 3.1 (cited as from the law--possibly a confusion with Exod. 23.20), Deut. 21.23, and Jer. 10.11.

[3]Except the allusion to II Kings 2.11ff. in APi 15.1.

[4]Cf. ApzNT, pp. 143-45; Apok 3, p. 331. Note that APi 14-16 puts no blame on the Jewish teachers. The witnesses who testify that they saw Jesus are not his disciples (cf. M. Sanhedrin 3.5) and are willing to accept the authority of the Jewish court (APi 14.2; cf. M. Sanhedrin 11.2-4).

[5]Desc. 2-5, 8 (Lat A). The passages are Isa. 9.1f., Ps. 24.7ff., Ps. 107.15-17, Isa. 26.19 (LXX), Hos. 13.14 (LXX), Ps. 24.7ff., Ps. 102.19f., Ps. 30.1-5, Ps. 98.1f., Ps. 149.9, Hab. 3.13, Mic. 7.18. Allusions

Testament citations in some other apocrypha may also have been drawn from earlier collections.[1]

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to the OT are elsewhere in the book--cf. Desc. 9-10 (Lat A)--and the citations are not set in the context of a dispute. But the prophecies occur all at one point and the writer once attributes Hos. 13.14 to Isaiah (Desc. 5.2), so it is possible that the writer used a previously-written collection of prophecies. (But note the suggestion of Fabricius, Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti, I, 283, that the attribution of Hos. 13.14 to Isaiah resulted from I Cor. 15.54f., which cites both prophets.) The citations in Desc. 8 may reflect a collection used for liturgical purposes.

[1]MSteph, pp. 162f., lists some prophecies given before the Jewish council. Stephen states that the first law, the second, and the other books say, "Wenn das Jahr des Bundes kommt, dann sende ich meinen geliebten Engel, den guten Geist der Sohnschaft, aus einer reinen Magd die Frucht der Wahrheit ohne Pflugschar und ohne Samen, und ein Bild des Säens, und wachsen wird die Frucht nach dem Gefühle der Pflanzung in Ewigkeit von dem Worte meines Bundes, und Zeichen werden [geschehen]." This may be an apocryphal citation, but it could also be a summary of all that had been prophesied.

Stephen then cites Isa. 9.6, Isa. 7.14, a Nathan apocryphon, and an apocryphal citation of Baruch ("Christus, der Ewige, erscheint als ein Stein vom Berge und zermalmt den Götzentempel der Vergebung"; cf. Dan. 2.45). He also cites Ps. 132.8, another apocryphal citation ("In diesem Worte wirst du richten"), and Ps. 110.1.

EpAp 19 cites Ps. 3 as a prediction of Christ's death and resurrection, and EpAp 33 refers to an apocryphal citation fulfilled by Paul: "Behold, from the land of Syria I will begin to call a new Jerusalem, and I will subdue Zion and it will be captured; and the barren one who has no children will be fruitful and will be called daughter of my father; but to me, my bride."

EpAp 35 quotes the LXX of Ps. 14.3 (140.3);

These apocrypha demonstrate the fact that collections of Old Testament testimonia were available to the apocryphal writers. Their use in the apocrypha seems to indicate that these collections were most often used during discussions with Jews. The large number of quotations from the Psalms probably resulted from the regular liturgical use of the Psalter; the Psalms probably became more familiar to Christians than did other sections of the Old Testament.

A number of theories have emerged concerning the use of Old Testament testimonies. R. Harris thought that a single, widely-known Testimony Book had been used by the New Testament writers and by many of the church fathers.[1] C. H. Dodd noted serious objections to Harris' theory and felt that early Christians used short quotations as indicators pointing to larger sections of the Old Testament.[2] He felt that testimony books were a

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50.19, 18, 20, 21. EpAp 43 cites Ps. 82.6. The extensive use of the Psalms indicates that the writer used only the Psalter or a collection of extracts from the Psalter.

[1]See R. Harris, with V. Burch, Testimonies (Cambridge, 1916-20).

[2]See C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures (London, 1952).

later result of early Christian exegesis and not, as Harris had supposed, a basis for it.[1] One writer has recently called Dodd's theory simply a variation of Harris's and has written that the only Christian testimony book was the entire Old Testament--although Christians used some quotations more frequently than others.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 126.

[2] See A. C. Sundberg, Jr., "On Testimonies," Novum Testamentum, 3 (1959), 268-81. He justly criticised Dodd's opinion that the NT writers kept the contexts of their citations in view. But Sundberg's other criticisms of Dodd's book were often unjustified. Dodd felt that a traditional method of exegesis existed before the writing of the NT; according to Sundberg that can "mean only one thing: that the same Old Testament passage received the same interpretation whenever it was cited in the New." Such a statement shows a failure to recognise the difference between a method of exegesis and the results obtained by that method. In fact, Sundberg's examples of varied interpretation of OT texts (art. cit., p. 278) point to a fairly uniform method of interpretation that produced different results when used by different writers.

Sundberg's tabulation of the relative importance of OT books to NT writers (art. cit., p. 273) did not test Dodd's theory that the early church used only particular sections of the OT. The tabulation would have been relevant only if Dodd had claimed that these sections consisted of entire OT books. Sundberg's use of the index locorum in Nestle, Novum Testamentum Graece, as the measure of NT use of the OT, together with his correction of OT books to a common length, can give a minor verbal coincidence between the NT and Proverbs as much weight as two definite quotations from

The various collections of prophecies in the apocrypha, however, would seem to support a theory that various Christians made a number of independent collections of Old Testament testimonia.[1] In the apocrypha the citations appear in single lists of quotations used during disputes with Jews; the writers presenting them give no hint of any personal familiarity with the Old Testament. There is no sign of any interdependence among the collections, and certainly no evidence of dependence upon a single common source such as Harris postulated. Quotations occurring in more than one of the collections, unless as a result of sheer coincidence, seem to have been part of the common apostolic preaching or were used by the New Testament writers; a few probably reflect the use of the Jewish Psalter in the church.[2]

Isa. 53. Such statistical tests can only be applied after agreed definitions of what "sections" Dodd meant and of what constitutes a citation.

[1]This conclusion was reached from other evidence by R. A. Kraft, "Barnabas' Isaiah Text and the 'Testimony Book' Hypothesis," JBL 79 (1960), 336-50; cf. Williams, Adversus Judaeos, pp. 3-13. For further refs. on the subject see Kraft, art. cit.

[2]Few passages are common to many collections;

No consistent pattern emerges when different

Harris, op. cit., has already pointed out the most significant of these. Most of them were probably included in the apostolic preaching. The various collections never agree upon the order of the passages cited, as should be the case if they depended upon some common written source.

The citations in APh 77-79 may be taken as representative. The plural pronoun in Gen. 1.26 is mentioned as an already-established proof-text. The use of the plural in that passage was probably a point for discussion in pre-Christian Judaism. Clem. Hom. 16.12 states that in Gen. 1.26 God addresses his wisdom, an interpretation that was apparently widespread; cf. Const. Ap. 7.34; 8.12; Justin, Dial. 62; Irenaeus, Haer. 4.20.1; Theophilus, Ad Autol. 2.18. Others referred to Christ as the one addressed (Justin, Dial. 62; Irenaeus, Haer. 4. Pref. 4; 4.20.1; Barnabas 5.5; 6.12; Theophilus, Ad Autol. 2.18), or to angels or archons (Justin, Dial. 62; Irenaeus, Haer. 1.24.1; 1.30.6; ApJn 48.11ff.; Gen. R. on Gen. 1.26; B. Sanhedrin 38b), to the creation (Justin, Dial. 62; Gen. R. on Gen. 1.26) or to the Torah (Pirke de R. Eliezer, cited by Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 54); cf. Str-B III, 681. Some said that God was addressing himself (Justin, Dial. 62; Gen. R. on Gen. 1.26). For further rabbinic refs. cf. Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, V, 3 n. 3, 69 n. 12. The verse was used by Jewish heretics (Gen. R. on Gen. 1.26) who may or may not have been Jewish Christians; cf. B. Sanhedrin 38a; Quispel, "The Jung Codex and its significance," F. L. Cross, ed., The Jung Codex, p. 65.

Isa. 42.1 is, more fully, in Matt. 12.18 and elsewhere (for refs. see Harris, op. cit., II, 60 n. 11). There are some differences between the citation in Matt. and that of APh. Isa. 42.1 is also alluded to in the baptismal accounts of the Gospels (Mark 1.11, par.) and was evidently in common use in the church.

Philip's citation of Isa 53.7-8 is almost identical with the citation in Acts 8.32f. Isa. 53 was used often in the early church as a witness to Christ.

Isa. 50.6 is in Barnabas 5.14; Irenaeus, Haer. 4.33.12; Justin, I Apol. 38. It was not used in the NT

lists of testimonies are compared, as should be the case if a single testimony book had been the basis of them. It seems more probable that the earliest Jewish

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but was a fairly obvious proof text that could have been discovered independently by different writers.

Citations of Isa. 65.1-2 could depend upon Rom. 10.20f., as could Barnabas 12.4. Cf. also Justin, Dial. 119; Clem. Rec. 5.12; Const. Ap. 5.15. Harris, op. cit., II, 23, gave a number of citations in an attempt to demonstrate dependence upon a testimony book. But dependence upon Rom. 10.20f. is more probable.

Ps. 2.7 is common to nearly all collections of testimonies as well as the NT (e.g. Acts 13.33 and Heb. 1.5). The use of this verse probably goes back to the apostolic preaching.

Ps. 3 is not used much in the NT, but parts of it are cited as testimonies to the resurrection in APh; I Clement 26; EpAp 19; MMatt 25; Justin, I Apol. 38; and idem, Dial. 97. It is difficult to assume the use of a single common source for this one ref., and not all the citations are to the same verses within Ps. 3. But it is also difficult to assume independent use of the OT among the writers who quote it. Probably the Psalm was used regularly for liturgical purposes, possibly when a Christian died; cf. MMatt 25.

Ps. 16.8-10 in APh may have come directly from Acts 2.25-28; it occurs also in the collection of testimonies in Abdias 4.6. Its use in Acts may indicate that it was part of the apostolic preaching.

Zech. 9.9 is in APh, Matt. 21.5, Jn. 12.15, and elsewhere; cf. Harris, op. cit., II, 60 n. 14. Use of this verse possibly goes back to the apostolic preaching. Matt. 2.15 probably provided the source for the citation of Hos. 11.1 in APh. Other writers do not cite this verse, although Harris, op. cit., passim, tried to show that Justin, Dial. 75, 100, 126 depended upon it.

An examination of OT citations in the other collections of testimonia brings similar results: few citations are common to many of them, and nearly all of these probably depend upon the NT.

Christians compiled lists of *testimonia*, as had pre-Christian Jews before them,[1] to use in the defence of their faith. Citations already familiar from the preaching of the apostles provided a nucleus to which other relevant texts were added from time to time. Additional proof-texts were most likely to come from the sections of the Old Testament most often read in the church. For Christian individuals such collections eliminated the necessity of owning a Bible or of memorising all the passages referring to Christ; these collections probably first arose as aids to teaching and for meeting Jewish opposition to Christianity. In private collections some compression or expansion of

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[1] Note the *testimonia* from Qumran; cf. J. M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature," JBL 75 (1956), 182-87. Allegro also included *4Q Florilegium* in the *testimonia* literature; cf. Allegro, "Fragments of a Qumran Scroll of Eschatological *Midrāšîm*," JBL 77 (1958), 350. But this inclusion has been seriously challenged by W. R. Lane, "A New Commentary Structure in 4Q Florilegium," JBL 78 (1959), 343-46. F. F. Bruce, *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts*, p. 68, noted a fundamental difference between the exegesis at Qumran and that of the NT writers. The Qumran commentators referred the OT prophecies beyond the Teacher of Righteousness to the ultimate fulfillment of God's purpose; Christians considered Christ the ultimate fulfillment of God's purpose and of the Scriptures.

texts inevitably resulted, and wrongly-attributed or apocryphal citations also sometimes found a place in them.

Some of Dodd's remarks concerning these collections of prophecies are still valid:[1]

> The composition of "testimony-books" was the result, not the presupposition, of the work of early Christian biblical scholars. The evidence suggests that at a very early date a certain method of biblical study was established and became part of the equipment of Christian evangelists and teachers. This method was largely employed orally, and found literary expression only sporadically and incompletely.

The collections were of great importance during Christian controversies with Jews, and Jewish Christians were probably often engaged in such discussions. The apocryphal use of collections of proof-texts reflects their original use; but the practice of collecting testimonia soon became widespread in the church, and the presence of these collections in the apocrypha does not necessarily indicate immediate, direct Jewish-Christian influence.

Many of the apocrypha, including Gnostic apocrypha, reflect a strong interest in the first few

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[1]Dodd, op. cit., p. 126.

chapters of Genesis. Some of this is discussed in the following chapter with reference to Adam and Eve.[1] But the apocrypha also make occasional references to other Old Testament events. The Apocalypse of Paul[2] tells that Manasseh cut off Isaiah's head,[3] that Jeremiah was stoned and Ezekiel dragged by the feet until his brains were scattered, and it gives a description of Job's illness.[4] The apocalypse also states that during the one hundred years when Noah was building the ark he neither changed his clothes nor had sexual relations with his wife.[5] The Acts of Andrew and Matthias[6] states that because stone is clean compared to earth God made man out of earth but wrote the law on tables of stone. The comparison is unusual and may have been based upon a Jewish or Jewish-Christian tradition. Some apocrypha

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[1]Below, pp. 213-18. [2]ApPa 49.

[3]Cf. B. Yebamoth 49b; B. Sanhedrin 103b; Asc. Isa. 5.1; Heb. 11.37.

[4]The mention of Job occurs only in ApPa 49 (Syriac), which adds that the Devil told Job to curse God and die; in Job 2.9 his wife says this. This description depends upon the Testament of Job; cf. M. R. James, Apocrypha anecdota, second series (Cambridge, 1897), p. lxxx.

[5]ApPa 50. [6]AAnMatt 29.

add other non-canonical details to Biblical events.[1] Most of them are probably not very significant.

Speculation about the events in the Old Testament, especially those concerning Adam, held an interest for Jews and Christians as well as for Gnostics and Jewish Christians. Such speculation was probably well developed in Judaism before Jewish Christians[2] and Gnostics used it.[3]

The apocrypha make no systematic attempts at

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[1]Note, e.g., that the first man was brought to earth head downward (APe 38, APh 140). This notion could have resulted from speculation about ordinary human births. AAnMatt 20 tells that the Devil turned Adam's bread to stones and that the Devil inspired the union between women and angels so that the giants born of that union would eat up the men on earth.

[2]Note the refs. to Adam in Clem. Hom. 3.17f.; Clem. Rec. 1.47. Cf. also I En. 32.6; 85.3-7; II En. 30.10 to 32.2. Cf. EpAp 39.

[3]For the Jewish interest in Adam cf. especially the various books of Adam discussed by Wells in Ap & Ps II, 123-33, and Ginzberg, op. cit., I, 49-102; V, 63-131; cf. also Gen. R., passim; B. Sanhedrin 38b; B. Hagigah 12a.

For Gnostic interest in Adam see especially ApJn. Note also Bousset, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis, pp. 160-223. For Mandaean ideas cf. E. S. Drower, The Secret Adam: a Study of Nasoraean Gnosis (Oxford, 1960). On the relationship between Jewish and Gnostic speculation concerning Adam see Quispel, "Der gnostische Anthropos und die jüdische Tradition," Eranos Jahrbuch, 22 (1953), 195-234.

exegesis of Old Testament Scripture; at most they reflect an acquaintance with the Old Testament by using it as a model or by citing prophecies from it. The Preaching of Peter[1] states that the books of the prophets spoke of Christ in parables or in riddles, and sometimes directly. A similar distinction is found in Gnostic circles with reference to Jesus' teachings.[2] Such a view is not far removed from that of the canonical evangelists[3] and probably developed from the principles used in the New Testament.

V. THE USE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

It is difficult to determine the precise attitudes of the apocryphal writers toward the New Testament. Some writers probably wanted their works to supplement or to supersede the books of the New Testament; but others may have wished simply to edify or

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[1]Cited by Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 6.15.128.

[2]Exc. Theod. 66: Jesus taught his disciples in types and mysteries, later in parables, and finally directly.

[3]Cf. e.g. Mark 4.11; John 16.25; Barth, Die Interpretation des Neuen Testaments in der valentinianischen Gnosis, pp. 53f.

to entertain their readers without seriously claiming apostolic authority.[1] Such men might occasionally, through ignorance or for some special moral or dramatic effect, have contradicted the New Testament without intending to supplant its accounts. But contradictions in apocrypha with a strong doctrinal tendency possibly indicate an attempt to disparage the canonical accounts. Some writers may have drawn upon ancient non-canonical traditions; if so, their writings may have a special significance. This question has become important since the discovery of the Gospel of Thomas,[2] but it is probably not very relevant to the discussion of other

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[1] Cf. Schneemelcher in Apok 3, p. 51.

[2] On this problem see, among others, Quispel, "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament," VC 11 (1957), 189-207; idem, "L'évangile selon Thomas et les Clémentines," VC 12 (1958), 181-96; idem, "Some Remarks on the Gospel of Thomas," NTS 5 (1958-59), 276-90; idem, "L'évangile selon Thomas et le 'texte occidental' du Nouveau Testament," VC 14 (1960), 204-15; H. K. McArthur, "The Dependence of the Gospel of Thomas on the Synoptics," ExpT 71 (1959-60), 286f.; R. M. Wilson, "Thomas and the Synoptic Gospels," ExpT 72 (1960-61), 36-39; idem, Studies in the Gospel of Thomas; Gärtner, The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas, pp. 53-65; H. Montefiore, "A Comparison of the Parables of the Gospel according to Thomas and of the Synoptic Gospels," NTS 7 (1960-61), 220-48.

known apocrypha.[1]

Some apocrypha may contradict the canonical Gospels deliberately. The Epistle of the Apostles records that the disciples asked Christ how many years would pass before he returned in glory.[2] According to the canonical Gospels and Acts the event will be unexpected and no one can know the exact time.[3] But in the Epistle of the Apostles the Lord gives a precise answer: at the end of one hundred and fifty years, between Pentecost and the Passover.[4] The same writing seems to contradict the canonical books elsewhere.[5]

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[1]The possible genuineness of traditions in other apocrypha has been discussed in various earlier studies of them. Cf. e.g. P. J. Peltzer, Historische und dogmenhistorische Elemente in den apokryphen Kindheits-Evangelien (Würzburg, 1864); Apk. Apg. I, 278-91, 516-19; Schmidt, Acta Pauli aus der heidelberger koptischen Papyrushandschrift Nr. 1, pp. 198-216; Resch, Agrapha; Amann, Le Protévangile de Jacques et ses remaniements latins, pp. 45-60; L. Vouaux, Les actes de Pierre (Paris, 1922), pp. 89-109; Vaganay, L'évangile de Pierre, pp. 129-40.

[2]EpAp 17.

[3]Matt. 24.36, 42; Mark 13.32; Acts 1.7.

[4]So Eth; Copt and Lat are less intelligible, but they were probably originally as definite.

[5]EpAp 33 implies that Paul went directly from Tarsus to Damascus and omits any reference to Jerusalem. This may be a case of extreme compression of the

Other apocrypha also contain minor contradictions of what is in the New Testament. The Acts of Thomas considers adultery the basis of all evils.[1] The Acts of Peter puts the encounter between Simon Magus and Peter in Jerusalem instead of Samaria, makes Peter and Paul the disciples involved instead of Peter and John, and considers the laying on of hands on that occasion to have been for healing instead of for conferring the Spirit.[2] The Acts of Paul presents Paul as stating that a man is justified by "works of righteousness"[3] and lists the cities Paul visited in an order incompatible with the travels of Paul recorded in the canonical book of Acts.[4] This may result simply from carelessness on

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narrative. EpAp 18 attributes to Jesus the negative form of the Golden Rule, a form found in Tobit 4.15 and often in early Christian literature; cf. the western text of Acts 15.20, 29; Syriac Didascalia 1; Didache 1.2; Const. Ap. 1.1; 3.15; 7.2.

[1]AThe 84; cf. I Tim. 6.10.

[2]APe 23; cf. Acts 8.14-19.

[3]Cf. Copt APa, in Schmidt, Acta Pauli, p. 32* (Ms. p. 68): ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲙ[ⲁⲉⲓⲟ] ⲉ[ⲛ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ' ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲙ]ⲟⲥ: ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲅⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲙⲁⲉⲓⲟ [ⲁⲃⲁⲗ' ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲉϩⲃ]ⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ[ⲓ]ⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ. Cf. Titus 3.5, οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων τῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἃ ἐποιήσαμεν ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς; also Rom. 3.24; 4.6, 13; 5.1; 9.30; Phil. 3.9.

[4]APa has, in this order, Antioch, Iconium, Myra,

the part of the writer; he generally tends to amplify the accounts in the Lucan Acts rather than contradict them. At one point a speech in the Acts of John seems to contradict the synoptic record of Christ's teaching.[1] But it is questionable whether such apparent discrepancies necessarily imply a rejection of the New Testament.

Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish the point at which an interpretation becomes a contradiction.[2] But some apocrypha do seem to make deliberate, definite alterations in the canonical accounts. The Ebionite Gospel evidently had the canonical Gospels as its basis;[3] but it states that John

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Sidon, Tyre, Jerusalem (?), Ephesus (?), Philippi, and Rome. A number of unknown places are also named; cf. Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 199f.

[1]AJn 54; cf. Mark 9.43, 45, 47, par. AJn 54 may be directed against some contemporary teaching rather than against the NT; men may have preceded Origen in applying these words of Jesus to sexual organs.

[2]Valentinians rarely altered the text of the NT or contradicted it; they simply made radical reinterpretations of it in order to prove that their theology had apostolic authority. Cf. Barth, op. cit., passim.

[3]Cf. Meyer in Apok 1, p. 24; Vielhauer in Apok 3, pp. 101f.

the Baptist, instead of eating locusts,[1] ate cakes dipped in oil.[2] The difference could conceivably have arisen as a result of textual corruption,[3] but it is generally considered a tendentious alteration in the interest of Ebionite vegetarian views.[4] However, the Ebionite Gospel contains other significant alterations that are not simply tendentious.[5] The idea of the Baptist eating locusts disturbed many Christians besides the Ebionites. Tatian made John's diet consist of milk

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[1]Matt. 3.4; Mk. 1.6. [2]Epiphanius, Pan. 30.13.4.

[3]From ἀκρίς to ἐγκρίς.

[4]Cf. ApocNT, p. 9; Evangelios, p. 54; ApzNT, p. 121; Apok 3, p. 102.

[5]In EvEb the voice at Jesus' baptism uses the words of Ps. 2.7, as in Luke 3.22 (D and Old Lat), Justin, Dial. 88, 103, and elsewhere; cf. Zahn, Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons, I, 542 n. 1; Bauer, Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen, p. 122.

EvEb also mentions the appearance of a light at Jesus' baptism, a detail mentioned in 2 Old Lat codices at Matt. 3.15, as well as in Justin, Dial. 88, the Diatessaron, and elsewhere. Some accounts refer to φῶς at the baptism, others to πῦρ; in a country where fire was the only artificial light there is little difference between the words (cf. Mk. 14.54). For a discussion of this cf. Bauer, op. cit., pp. 134-39. The idea of a baptism of fire may be related; cf. Edsman, Le baptême de feu, pp. 182-90; Daniélou, Théologie du judéo-christianisme, pp. 250ff.

and honey,[1] and an apocryphal life of John the Baptist[2] said that John ate nothing but grass and honey.[3] Other ancient writers made similar alterations.[4] The variant reading in the Ebionite Gospel must have arisen among people who found it difficult to believe that John had eaten locusts; but this variant could have existed before the canonical Gospels were recognised as authoritative, and possibly even before they were written.

The Epistle of the Apostles states that Jesus took the form of the angel Gabriel during the annunciation to Mary.[5] The work gives no reason for this

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[1] Locusts and wild honey is the reading of the Arabic Diatessaron 4, Persian Diatessaron 14, and others, but early Syriac testimonies indicate that the original had milk instead of locusts; cf. J. R. Harris, Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus upon the Diatessaron (London, 1895), pp. 17f.

[2] A. Mingana, ed., "A New Life of John the Baptist," Mingana, ed., Woodbrooke Studies: Christian Documents in Syriac, Arabic, and Garshūni (Cambridge, 1927-34), I, 234-94.

[3] Ibid., p. 245 (cf. p. 242).

[4] Cf. Harris, loc. cit.; idem, introduction to Mingana, op. cit., in Mingana, ed., Woodbrooke Studies, I, 142f.; cf. also Bauer, op. cit., p. 102.

[5] EpAp 14; cf. Luke 1.26ff.

reinterpretation, but such an idea may have resulted from an attempt to meet objections to the idea of the virgin birth. Jews believed that angels (and demons) sometimes had sexual intercourse with women;[1] the writer of the Epistle of the Apostles obviated that possibility in the case of Mary. If this conjecture is correct, then the alteration probably arose as a result of Christian disputes with Jews, and possibly among Jewish Christians.

The Acts of Peter states that although Jesus ate and drank, he was neither hungry nor thirsty.[2] This seems to be a docetic interpretation of the Gospel passages that refer to Jesus as eating and drinking and being hungry and thirsty.[3] In that case it may reflect Gnostic influences; but Gnostics were not the only docetists among early Christians, and the Acts of Peter

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[1] Cf. Gen. 6.2-4; I En. 6.2 to 7.1; Jub 4.15, 22; 5.1; II Baruch 56.11-15; Clem. Hom. 8.13-15; T. Reuben 5.6f. Cf. also I En. 106.6; Prot 14.1; Ps-Matt. 10.3.

[2] APe 20.

[3] Cf. Matt. 4.2 (Luke 4.2); 21.18 (Mark 11.12); John 19.28; Mark 2.16; Luke 24.43; Matt. 11.19 (Luke 7.34).

shows no definite traces of Gnostic teaching.[1]

A number of apocrypha minimise Pilate's role in the proceedings leading up to the crucifixion and place greater blame on Herod.[2] Some later stories tended to make Pilate more and more sympathetic to Jesus, until he finally became a Christian martyr.[3] Such alterations probably resulted as a development from Pilate's attitude as reflected in the Gospels,[4] or possibly as a result of anti-Jewish feelings; but they indicate no definite doctrinal tendency.

A few apocrypha ignore rather than contradict the New Testament writings, possibly in an attempt to gain precedence by treating rival accounts as unworthy of

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[1] On this passage and the question of docetism see below, pp. 300-302.

[2] APe 8; EvPe 1, 2; AAnMatt 26; cf. Didascalia 21.

[3] Cf. ApocNT, pp. 153-56; APi 1-9; Lament of the Virgin (ed. Mingana, in Woodbrooke Studies, II, 178-240), pp. 191, 202-10; Martyrdom of Pilate, in Mingana, ed., Woodbrooke Studies, II, 241-331. For the Eth versions of the Lament of the Virgin and the Martyrdom of Pilate cf. M.-A. van den Oudenrijn, Gamaliel: äthiopische Texte zur Pilatusliteratur (Freiburg, Schweiz, 1959). On the tendency to stress Pilate's innocence cf. P. Winter, On the Trial of Jesus (Berlin, 1961), pp. 51-61.

[4] Cf. Vaganay, op. cit., p. 199.

mention. None of the books from Nag Hammadi is assigned to Matthew, Mark, Luke, or Paul,[1] and other apocryphal works rarely claim to have been written by the authors of the canonical writings.[2] Some of the apocryphal Gospels were probably meant to supersede the canonical Gospels, and some of the apocryphal Acts may have been meant to replace the canonical book of Acts. A church tracing its origin to one of the apostles given little place in the Lucan Acts might well have desired a rival account; groups that opposed Paul could never have accepted the canonical book of Acts.

The Acts of Philip may have resulted in part from such motives. The Lucan book of Acts hardly mentions the apostle Philip;[3] the Acts of Philip never mentions Paul and has few contacts with the canonical Acts. But

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[1]Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, p. 304. But the library does include an Apocalypse of Paul; cf. Doresse, op. cit., pp. 237f.

[2]Some people assumed that Matthew wrote EvHe, and John is the supposed recipient of a number of apocryphal revelations. Some of the apocryphal Acts and apocalypses centre about Peter and Paul.

[3]Neither Acts nor any of the Synoptics mentions Philip outside the lists of the apostles; cf. Matt. 10.3; Mark 3.18; Luke 6.14; Acts 1.13. But Philip is prominent in the fourth Gospel; cf. John 1.43-46; 6.5-7; 12.21f.; 14.8f.

the work records that Philip evangelised at least one area said in the Lucan Acts to have been evangelised by Paul. It states that in Athens the philosophers listened to Philip with respect; there Philip won a dispute with the Jewish high priest and baptised five hundred Jews. Then he remained two years in Athens, founded a church and ordained a bishop and a presbyter.[1]

The writer of the Acts of Philip was evidently familiar with the Lucan account of Paul's preaching in Athens,[2] and he was also acquainted with some of the Pauline epistles.[3] But his account is incompatible with the Lucan account;[4] a comparison between Paul's failure in Athens[5] and Philip's great success there could only

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[1]APh 6-29.

[2]Acts 17.16 to 18.1; compare Acts 17.21 with APh 7.

[3]Bonnet in Aa II.2 noted parallels with Ephesians and Philippians; cf. APh 8 (Eph. 4.22), 9 (Eph. 1.21), 15 (Eph. 1.20), 24 (Phil. 2.11). Perhaps not too much weight should be attached to these, however.

[4]Philip is obviously the first Christian to preach in Athens (APh 9-10), ruling out the possibility that Paul had preached there (Acts 17.15-34).

[5]Paul was unable to finish his speech before the philosophers and he departed immediately for Corinth; Acts 17.32 to 18.1.

lead to the conclusion that Paul was relatively impotent as an apostolic preacher. It is possible that the writer of the Acts of Philip was simply careless and free in his use of other sources;[1] but the book gives the impression that the writer intended to elevate Philip at Paul's expense by replacing the Lucan account with his own version of what happened in Athens.

The account of Philip's sea voyage in the Acts of Philip is apparently based upon the Lucan account of Paul's voyage;[2] a comparison of the two accounts shows Philip to be an apostle far superior to Paul. Paul announced that the people on board his ship would be saved in a shipwreck, although the ship and its cargo would be lost. Luke recorded no conversions to Christianity during Paul's voyage. But Philip was able

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[1]APh is obviously a collection of separate tales rather than a single work, so the order of places visited by Philip is of no relevance: Galilee, Athens, Parthia, Azotus, Nicatera πόλιν οὕτω λεγομένην τῆς Ἑλλάδος (was there such a town in Greece? or is Nicotera in Italy meant?), Hierapolis of Asia (Phrygia?). The writer may have unconsciously modelled his accounts upon stories heard elsewhere without intending to replace the older accounts; compare the incident related between Philip and Ireus (APh 48f.) with that of Jesus and Nathanael (Jn. 1.47ff., in which Philip also figures).

[2]APh 33-36; Acts 27.14 to 28.10.

to announce that neither persons nor ship would be lost; then he calmed the sea in the name of Jesus and instructed and baptised everyone on board.

Note also that in a Syriac Act of Philip[1] Philip asks how he will preach to people whose language he does not know. An obvious answer would be to refer to the miracle at Pentecost, as some apocrypha do for similar questions.[2] But the writer of this apocryphal story mentions only that God gave Adam the power of speech. Here he seems deliberately to ignore a much more relevant event; possibly he wanted to avoid any reference to the canonical Acts.

Some other apocryphal Acts also possibly attempted to supplant the canonical Acts and to elevate another apostle at Paul's expense. The Acts of Peter contains another account of a sea voyage, an account apparently influenced by the Lucan narrative.[3] The

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[1]Summary in ApocNT, pp. 450ff., from W. Wright, Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (London, 1871), II, 69-92.

[2]Cf. Abdias 7.3; cf. also the Garshuni apocalypse (in Mingana, ed., Woodbrooke Studies, III, 93-449), p. 362.

[3]APe 5. The voyage is from Caesarea to Rome; cf.

writer accepted Paul as a genuine apostle,[1] but he clearly considered Peter superior. In the Acts of Peter Peter's presence aboard the ship means that there can be no loss during the sea voyage; a heavenly voice announces that fact.[2] A calm occurs at one point to allow Peter to baptise the ship's captain, after which a wind drives the ship directly to its destination. Compare this account with the difficulties Paul experienced in his voyage to Rome.[3] The reference to Paul's ministry in the Acts of Peter also indicates his relative ineffectiveness as an apostle. Paul had warned his converts about Simon Magus; but before Peter's arrival in Rome all of them, with one exception, had turned from Christianity and accepted Simon.[4]

The Acts of John also contains some sections

Acts 27.1f., where Caesarea is not named in most texts but is obviously the port of embarkation. The sea voyage ends at Puteoli, where Christians receive the apostle (APe 6; Acts 28.13f.).

[1]Paul's ministry is mentioned often, and in APe 23 the writer alters a reference to Peter and John (Acts 8.14ff.), making it Peter and Paul.

[2]APe 5; cf. Acts 27.23f.

[3]Cf. Acts 27.4, 7-10, 14-44. [4]APe 6.

modelled upon those in the canonical Acts,[1] and a comparison of these accounts show Paul inferior to John. The Acts of John places John's ministry almost wholly in places where, according to the Lucan book of Acts, Paul had preached the Gospel;[2] yet the writer nowhere mentions Paul or his ministry. Most of the events recorded in the Acts of John take place in Ephesus. According to the Lucan book of Acts Paul spent about two years in Ephesus,[3] performed miracles of healing and made a number of converts.[4] But when opposition to Paul arose because the worshipers of Artemis were afraid of the threat to their business, Paul did not face the angry mob that assembled; a town clerk finally dismissed the people with a warning.[5] The Acts of John completely ignores this record of Paul's evangelistic work in Ephesus. It states that John also performed healings[6]

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[1]Dependence upon Acts is evident in AJn 19 (cf. Acts 10.1-6). The ref. to a distribution of money (AJn 59) may be influenced by the record of Paul's collection for the poor in Jerusalem (Rom. 15.25f.).

[2]AJn has Miletus, Ephesus, Smyrna, and Laodicea. In Acts Paul visits all but Smyrna.

[3]Acts 19.10. [4]Acts 19.11f.

[5]Acts 19.23-41. [6]AJn 23, 24, 37.

and faced opposition from the adherents to the Artemis cult.[1] But in the apocryphal account John meets the opposition by destroying the idol and the pagan temple through prayer; as a result the entire populace is converted to his God.[2]

It is difficult to guess what motives could prompt this apparent rejection of the canonical Acts and the suppression of Paul. It is possible that Gnostic claims that they possessed Pauline tradition caused a reaction among more orthodox Christians[3] or that Jewish Christians who rejected Paul's authority influenced the apocryphal accounts.[4] On the other hand, it may be that the writers of the apocryphal Acts simply used the Lucan Acts as a model and that these were the results.

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[1]AJn 38-44. [2]AJn 42.

[3]Cf. Bauer, Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum, pp. 228-30.

[4]For the Ebionite rejection of Paul cf. Irenaeus, Haer. 1.26.2; 3.15.1; HE 3.27.4; Strecker, Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen, pp. 187-96.

CHAPTER VI

GOD, MAN, AND THE UNIVERSE

Because most apocryphal books consist primarily of stories, few of them contain any serious discussion of questions concerning the nature of God, man, or of the universe. But some apocrypha contain hints that indicate something of the way their writers thought with reference to these questions. Probably most of the theology, angelology, cosmology, and anthropology of the apocryphal books came directly from the Old and New Testaments or coincided with ideas common among Christians of that period. But occasionally there appear some indications of other influences, and the apocryphal writers sometimes expressed opinions that may have been influenced by Jewish Christianity or by Gnosticism.

I. THE IDEA OF GOD

Jews and orthodox Christians stood far apart from Gnostics in their attitude toward the creator of the universe. Gnostics considered the creator vastly inferior to the unknown Father of all, while Christians

agreed that the God of the Jews, the God who created the world, was the supreme and only God. This distinction often makes it easy to distinguish between Gnostic and Christian apocrypha. Any Christian could have agreed with most of what the non-Gnostic apocrypha say about God; only rarely do they reflect any traces of possible Gnostic or Jewish-Christian influence. Even the Gnostics often sounded orthodox in what they said about God, but Gnostics had a meaning behind their words that was different from what the church believed. Consequently even statements contained in Gnostic works are not always unambiguously Gnostic.

Many of the New Testament apocrypha strongly emphasized the fact that God is only one God. Some of them present the apostolic message as largely concerned with teaching that there is only one God; whenever an apostle performs a miracle the crowds cry out, "There is one God, the God of . . .," and they name Peter, or John, or some other apostle.[1] The emphasis upon God's

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[1] APsThec 38; APe 26; AJn 42; APh 84; Abdias 8.7 (cf. Aa II.1, 144); APa in Schmidt, Acta Pauli, pp. 36*, 38* (Ms. pp. 59, 42; the text is defective at points). Cf. also the Preaching of Peter cited by Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 6.5.39; AAn (Greg) 18.

unity came originally into Christianity from Judaism; sometimes Jewish Christians debated with others concerning the unity of God.[1] When the first Christians took the Gospel into the Gentile world they probably coupled with it some teaching concerning the fact that God is one God.[2] The Ebionites, in their rejection of the deity of Christ,[3] probably stressed the unity of God even more than other Christians did.

But Ebionite ideas do not explain the emphasis in the apocryphal Acts upon the fact that God is one. In the apocrypha the one God referred to is Jesus himself.[4]

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[1]Cf. Clem. Rec. 2.43; Clem. Hom. 16.7.

[2]Cf. Paul's speech in Acts 17.22ff.; Hermas, Mand. 1.1.1; Aristides, Apol. 14 (Syriac).

[3]Cf. e.g. Clem. Hom. 16.15; Justin, Dial. 48; Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums, pp. 71-78.

[4]AAn (Greg) 18; cf. APa in Schmidt, op. cit., p. 36* (Ms. p. 59): ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ̄-[ⲕⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ] ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲗ̄ⲗ[ⲉ]ⲩ: ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡ[ⲉ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄] ⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲣ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲱ[ⲏⲣⲉ]. This could possibly be interpreted to mean that God is one while Jesus Christ is someone else; but note the accusation on the same page: ⲛ̄ⲧⲱ[ⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲁⲉ] ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲭⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ[ⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲡ]ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡ[ⲉ ⲡⲉ]ⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲩ. Cf. also APa in Schmidt, op. cit., p. 3* (Ms. p. 5), [ⲁ]ⲩⲱ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ [ⲥⲱⲱⲧ †ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲱ]ⲛⲁⲥ[ⲛⲏⲩ ⲭ]ⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲱⲟ[ⲟⲡ ⲉⲓⲙ]ⲏⲧⲓ [ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄] ⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲣ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ[ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁ]ⲙⲁⲁⲧ. AJn refers throughout to Jesus as the sole God. See especially AJn 77, and cf. AJn 43, Δόξα σοι Ἰησοῦ μου ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας μόνος θεός.

Most of the apocryphal Acts do not reflect an orthodox Trinitarian conception of God. References to the Trinity are almost invariably within a context that is either liturgical[1] or unorthodox.[2] The writers of these Acts probably thought of Jesus as a God such as Artemis or Isis, but unique and infinitely powerful.[3] They hint at no relationship between Jesus and the God of the Jews. Such an understanding could have come neither from Jewish Christianity nor from Gnosticism, nor could it have developed within strictly-orthodox circles. Perhaps it was the understanding of Christ common among uneducated Gentile Christians, men who would tend to express allegiance to Jesus in the same terms they had

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[1] See below, p. 198 n. 4.

[2] Note the refs. to Father, Word, and Spirit in AJn 94, 96.

[3] Before Trinitarian ideas were fully developed it was usual to speak of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit as each having some kind of divinity; cf. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, pp. 83-108.

Note that the Christology of AJn 88-102 is different from what is in the rest of AJn. That section contains the only speculative discussions; the clearly-docetic portrayal of Christ is peculiar to those chapters and the centre of interest is different from that of the rest of the book. AJn 88-102 may originally have been a separate apocryphon later incorporated into AJn.

formerly used to express allegiance to heathen deities. To them the primary difference was that Jesus was the sole God, not one of many.

Some apocryphal books, although they refer to Jesus as God, do not overlook his position as Son of God.[1] Yet occasionally even these apocrypha refer to Jesus as if he were the sole divinity.[2] This ambivalence may have arisen among Gentile Christians who had received Trinitarian teaching but who still tended to think of Christ as the sole divinity; eventually they became more consistent in their references to Jesus as the Son of God.[3]

All the apocrypha, however, almost invariably use a Trinitarian formula with reference to baptism;[4] they

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[1]Cf. APe 2, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 27; AAn (Greg) 6, 18, 20, 24; ATho 10, 27, 39, 45, 49, 60, 66, 96, 104, 121f., 132, 136, 157, 160. EpAp 3 calls Christ "God the Son of God" and adds descriptive clauses that could apply both to the Father and to the Son.

[2]APe 2, 6, 8f., 20, 23, 26, 30, 32, 39; AAn (Greg) 18f., 20, 33; ATho 25f., 42, 47, 69, 73, 159. Cf. also the apparent ambivalence in APh 84. Christ is also called God in AJn 96f., 104, 107.

[3]Cf. APh, AAnMatt.

[4]Cf. APe 5; AAn (Greg) 33; ATho 26f., 49, 121, 132, 157; AMatt 8, 27; APh 36, 63, 86, 147. Cf. also

rarely mention the Trinity in any other context.[1] The use of a Trinitarian formula at baptism probably developed as a result of the words of Jesus in the first Gospel.[2] Probably none of these references gives any evidence of Jewish-Christian or Gnostic influence. Lipsius, however, considered one reference to the Trinity in the Acts of Thomas as a Gnostic accommodation to catholic teaching.[3] The reference occurs in a

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the Martyrdom of Peter attributed to Linus, c. 19 (Aa I, 44); Justin, I Apol. 61; Didache 7.1; Clem. Rec. 3.67; Const. Ap. 7.40. Exceptions occasionally occur; cf. AAnMatt 32; APeAn 21; Abdias 8.8 (but cf. Gk in Aa II.1, 147); Abdias 8.5 (Aa II.1, 139), 9 (Aa II.1, 149); Linus' Martyrdom of Paul (Aa I, 37); APaThec 34.

[1]When occasional exceptions occur the terms used to describe the Trinity often differ from those of Matt. 28.19. Cf. e.g. ATho 39, 70 (Syriac); EpAp 5. But a few more exact refs. to the Trinity do occur without any mention of baptism; cf. ATho 96; Abdias 8.7 (cf. Aa II.1, 144); AJn 96; APh 141; EvTho 44; EvPh 67.

[2]Cf. below, p. 200 n. 2.

[3]ATho 27. Cf. Apk. Apg. I, 317, "Die Namen 'des Vaters,' 'des Sohnes' und des 'heiligen Geistes' beziehen sich auf den Urvater, den Sohn des Lebendigen und die Sophia, lassen also trotz ihres katholischen Klanges eine ächt gnostische Deutung zu." This ref. occurs in a prayer containing a number of contacts with Gnosticism; cf. Apk. Apg. I, 311-17.

Gnostic readers probably could, if they chose, have given a Gnostic interpretation to Christian Trinitarian teaching; they used other books that contained Trinitarian ideas. Cf. Grobel, The Gospel of Truth, pp. 21-23; EvPh 11.

baptismal context[1] and the writer of the Acts of Thomas consistently referred to the Trinity whenever he mentioned baptism. It is difficult to see how a Gnostic meaning could lie behind these words at one point when it is absent at other points. The use of the Trinitarian formula at baptism arose early in the church;[2]

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[1]AThо 27, ἐπισφράγισον αὐτοὺς εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος. In early Christian literature σφραγίς often refers to baptism; cf. e.g. II Cor. 1.22; Eph. 1.13; 4.30; Hermas, Sim. 8.2.2; 9.16.4. Cf. G. Kretschmar, Studien zur frühchristlichen Trinitätstheologie (Tübingen, 1956), p. 208: "Der Name 'Siegel' (σφραγίς) ist im zweiten Jahrhundert eine der häufigsten Taufbezeichnungen"; from the evidence Kretschmar produces "geht klar hervor, dass dies Siegel mit den 'Namen' [Father, Son, Holy Spirit] zusammenhängt."

For apocryphal refs. to σφραγίς meaning baptism cf. EpAp 41 (Copt); MPa 5, 7; APeAn 21; MMatt 8, 27; APh 29, 44, 134; APaThec 25; APa in Schmidt, Acta Pauli, p. 20* (Ms. p. 29); Iohannis liber de dormitione Mariae 20 (Tischendorf, Apocalypses apocryphae, p. 101). Cf. APe 5, "et signatus est sancto tuo signo."

[2]Cf. Matt. 28.19; Didache 7.1. Earlier tradition indicates that baptism was originally in the name of the Lord Jesus; cf. Jackson and Lake, eds., The Beginnings of Christianity, I, 335ff.--they considered baptism a post-apostolic development and were sceptical about the Trinitarian formula even in Matthew. Kretschmar, op. cit., pp. 196-216, argued that Trinitarian teaching and the liturgy of baptism were always closely allied in Christian tradition; but he noted (Kretschmar, op. cit., p. 125) that Paul and the Acts imply that earliest baptism was in the name of Jesus.

The western church connected baptism and Trinitarian teaching more closely than did the eastern

while Gnostics may have reinterpreted the expression, there is no evidence that the writer of the Acts of Thomas did.

Gnostic apocrypha place a heavy emphasis upon the fact that the highest God can be described in negative terms alone. The Apocryphon of John[1] contains a typical description: God is invisible and incorruptible; no one rules over him or exists before him; he is eternal, needs nothing, is boundless and judged by no one; he is immeasurable, unspeakable, and unnameable. He is not τέλειος nor blessedness nor divinity, but he is above these. He is neither endless nor bounded, in a body nor bodiless, large nor small; he is greater than such words. Other Gnostic apocrypha present similar descriptions of God.[2]

The emphasis upon God's unknowableness and his distance from the world is essential to Gnosticism; it

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church; cf. Kretschmar, op. cit., p. 132. Baptism in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit could have antedated developed Trinitarian ideas; Hippolytus gave Matt. 28.19 a kind of binatarian interpretation. Cf. Kretschmar, op. cit., p. 184 n. 1.

[1] ApJn 22-24.

[2] Cf. SJC 84ff.; EvTr 17.7-9; 18.32; 30.34; 42.4-7.

is present in nearly all descriptions of Gnostic systems.[1] Gnostics went so far as to speak of the God who does not exist, since God is above all that is;[2] and they said that even the aeons are ignorant of God.[3] With their heavy stress upon God's transcendence the Gnostic apocrypha stand apart from the rest of the New Testament apocrypha.[4]

The philosophy of the period also laid a heavy stress upon God's transcendence;[5] a tendency in this

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[1]Cf. Jonas, The Gnostic Religion, pp. 42f. The idea of God's ineffability is central in parts of the Pistis Sophia and the titleless treaty in the Codex Brucianus. In Valentinian thought the evil in the world began with the desire of Sophia to comprehend the incomprehensible Father (Irenaeus, Haer. 1.2.2). See also Bousset, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis, pp. 83-91.

[2]Cf. Basilides cited by Hippolytus, Elench. 7.21. Note ApJn 24.20ff.: God is not anything that exists, but greater (ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⟨ⲁ⟩ⲛ ⲉⲡⲛⲏⲣⲩ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲉϥⲥⲟⲧⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ).

[3]Irenaeus, Haer. 1.2.1.

[4]In Clem. Hom. 19.10 Peter states that man cannot make any statement about God. But that is not his own opinion; he simply uses at that point an argument reductio ad absurdum against Simon's objections to human analogies.

[5]Cf. E. Norden, Agnostos Theos (Leipzig-Berlin, 1913), pp. 56-83; Festugière, La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste, IV: Le dieu inconnu et la gnose; Puech and Quispel, "Le quatrième écrit gnostique du Codex Jung," VC 9 (1955), 84f.

direction was present among Christian writers,[1] as well as in Hellenistic Judaism.[2] But there was a significant difference between what Gnostics taught and what was common belief among Christians and in the Hellenistic world. Christians felt that many things about God were too deep for human beings to grasp, but that a person could know at least something about him.[3] Gnostics asserted that God was entirely unknown and unknowable.[4] It is possible that Jewish views of God contributed to this development. Some recent writers have noted

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[1]Cf. Justin, II Apol. 6; idem, Dial. 127; Irenaeus, Haer. 2.1.1; Tertullian, Apol. 17.2; Aristides, Apol. 1.

[2]Cf. H. A. Wolfson, Philo (Cambridge, Mass., 1947), II, 101-26.

[3]Cf. Rom. 11.33. The apologists laid heavy stress upon the distinction between God and the world; they even denied that God had any of the attributes that belong to the world (Harnack, History of Dogma, II, 204ff.). But implicit in their teaching, and more explicit in later writers, was the idea that man can learn something about God from the creation; cf. Irenaeus, Haer. 2.6.1; 2.9.1; 2.27.2; 3.25.1. On Origen's teaching in this respect cf. Harnack, op. cit., II, 349ff., and Harnack's summary of catholic teaching about God, op. cit., III, 241-47.

[4]Cf. Wilson, The Gnostic Problem, p. 185. God's transcendence is heavily emphasized in the Hermetic literature, but the Hermetica teach that God can be known at least to some extent; cf. Festugière, op. cit., pp. 56-59.

striking parallels between Jewish and Gnostic ideas of God, especially ideas found in Hellenistic Judaism[1] and in apocalyptic thought.[2] The Jewish avoidance of the divine name fitted in with Hellenistic ideas concerning the namelessness of God;[3] Jews in Palestine as well as those in the Diaspora refused to pronounce the name.[4] Only the priests in the temple ever spoke God's name, and even then not very distinctly.[5] Other Jews used numerous euphemisms to avoid mentioning it.[6]

Jewish angelology did not originate from the tendency to stress God's transcendence,[7] but it resulted in Jews assigning to angels functions consonant only

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[1]Wilson, op. cit., pp. 183-202.

[2]Grant, Gnosticism and Early Christianity, pp. 97-119.

[3]A. Marmorstein, The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God (London, 1927-37), I, 17ff.; Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks, pp. 3f.

[4]Marmorstein, op. cit., I, 19. [5]Ibid., p. 27.

[6]Cf. ibid., pp. 17-147; Bonservin, Le Judaisme palestinien au temps de Jésus-Christ, I, 116-49.

[7]C. G. Montefiore, "The Spirit of Judaism," Jackson and Lake, eds., The Beginnings of Christianity, I, 47f.; Bietenhard, Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum, p. 103.

with the idea that God was distant and unapproachable.[1] The rabbis went so far in emphasizing God's transcendence that they claimed that men were unable to praise God or to describe his greatness.[2] Some rabbis also emphasized the vast distance between heaven and earth;[3] they taught that even the angels could not see God[4] or know where his abode was.[5] Presumably Jewish Christians also considered God's name hidden or ineffable[6] and

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[1]Angels were thought to control the elements of nature; cf. W. Lueken, Michael (Göttingen, 1898), pp. 52-56; Bonservin, op. cit., I, 231f. Jews even used angels as intercessors for themselves before God; cf. Lueken, op. cit., pp. 9-12. The Jewish emphasis upon angels eventually became so strong that Jews were thought to worship angels; cf. Col. 2.18; the Preaching of Peter cited by Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 6.5.41; Aristides, Apol. 15 (Syriac); Lueken, op. cit., pp. 4-7. A similar accusation was occasionally levelled against Gnostics; cf. Irenaeus, Haer. 1.31.2; Tertullian, De praesc. haer. 33.

[2]Gen. R. 12 on Gen. 2.4; cf. the discussion in Marmorstein, op. cit., I, 162ff.

[3]Cf. Num. R. 18.21 on Num. 16; Gen. R. 6 on Gen. 1.17 (cf. Asc. Isa. 7.18, 28); B. Hagigah 13a.

[4]Sifra on Leviticus 1.1 (TR 164). Even those who carry his throne and minister to him cannot see him; cf. Num. R. 14.22 on Num. 7.89; Marmorstein, op. cit., I, 159f.

[5]Sifre on Num. 12.8 (TR 246).

[6]Cf. I En. 69.14; Apocalypse of Abraham 10.

accepted the existence of superior beings between man and God.[1] Eventually the rabbis tended to consider the law a pre-existent entity distinct from God,[2] instead of regarding it as a simple expression of God's will for man; consequently even a person who knew the law could not necessarily hope to know anything about God himself. The Gnostic emphasis upon the unknowableness of God could conceivably have developed in part from such ideas.

Some of the non-Gnostic apocrypha also mention the transcendence of God,[3] but most of them probably

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[1]Jewish Christians presumably accepted the angelology of the Jewish apocalypses, with their mention of archangels and of semi-divine beings such as Metatron and Jaoel; cf. Apocalypse of Abraham 10; H. Odeberg, 3 Enoch, or the Hebrew Book of Enoch (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 79-146.

[2]Bonservin, op. cit., I, 166f.; cf. above, p. 73 n. 1.

[3]A fragment from the Acts of John in P. Ox. 850, verso, line 17, refers to John as δοῦλε τοῦ ἀκατωνομαστοῦ; cf. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, VI (London, 1908), 15. See also APe 2 ("deus numinis inenarrabilis"), 9 ("servus inenarrabilis dei vivi"); the Preaching of Peter cited by Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 6.5.39; AJn 79, 104. Note also the Garshuni apocalypse in Mingana, ed., Woodbrooke Studies, III, 105ff. Note that in ApPa God has no direct contact with earth or even, it seems, with his angels; cf. ApPa 8, 10, where the angels see only God's spirit and hear God's voice.

reflect ideas common throughout the church. In this area it is often difficult to distinguish between Gnostic and possible Jewish-Christian thought; but if some apocrypha lay greater stress upon God's transcendence than other Christian writings, Jewish-Christian or Gnostic thought may have contributed to that stress.

A number of apocrypha refer to the fact that God is light.[1] Little comment is required on the idea, since it is implied in the Old Testament and explicitly stated in the New.[2] Some scholars have interpreted a reference in the Acts of Thomas to "the daughter of light" as part of a Gnostic ode to Sophia.[3] The Syriac

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[1] EpAp 19, 28; cf. APe 20; EvPe 36; AJn 90, 94, 97; Desc. 2.1. For light at Christ's baptism cf. EvEb cited by Epiphanius, Pan. 30.13.7 (see above, p. 183 n. 5).

[2] Cf. Ps. 4.6; 27.1; 104.2; Isa. 9.2; 10.17; 60.19, 20; Hab. 3.4. In the NT cf. especially Jn. 1.9; 3.19; 8.12; I Jn. 1.5; also II Cor. 11.14; Eph. 5.8; I Thes. 5.5; I Tim. 6.16; Rev. 21.23; 22.5. Schubert, The Dead Sea Community, pp. 152-54, said that in Qumran thought the spirit of light was created by God and subordinate to him. But Nötscher, Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte, pp. 96f., pointed out that in the Qumran Hodayoth God seems to be identified with light. For a rabbinic statement that God is light cf. Num. R. 15.5 on Num. 8.2.

[3] ATho 6f. Cf. Apk. Apg. I, 301-11; Bornkamm, Mythos und Legende in den apokryphen Thomas-Akten, pp. 69, 82f.

version of the Acts of Thomas understands this daughter of light to be the church, but that interpretation seems forced.[1] Gnostic interpretations fit no more naturally, however, and it seems more likely that the "daughter of light" is supposed to represent the human soul married to Christ.[2]

Jewish thought considered God to be surrounded by a cloud of light.[3] The Apocryphon of John states that the highest Father exists in a pure light that no one can see.[4] This is close to the Jewish conception; but a more exact Gnostic parallel to the Jewish idea is found with reference to Ialdabaoth. Ialdabaoth, according to the Apocryphon of John, is also placed within a cloud of light.[5] The parallel is so close that it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that at this point the

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[1]The numbers 32 (who sing praises to her) and 7 (her groomsmen) have no evident meaning, and the church is not exalted elsewhere in AThо.

[2]Cf. Findlay, Byways in Early Christian Literature, pp. 291-94.

[3]Cf. B. Hagigah 12b, commenting on Ps. 18.12.

[4]ApJn 22.23 to 23.2; cf. OrWor 152.3ff.

[5]ApJn 38.7f.

Apocryphon of John drew upon Jewish tradition. The Jewish idea presumably was related to speculation about the cloud that led Israel through the wilderness.[1]

II. THE WORLD AND MAN

Rabbinic thought assumed the existence of light at the beginning of creation, a light different in kind from that now on earth.[2] Jewish thought also knew of the existence of primordial water.[3] The Apocryphon of John fuses the two ideas and mentions "water of light";[4]

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[1]Cf. Exod. 13.21f.

[2]For refs. and discussion see A. Altmann, "Gnostic Themes in Rabbinic Cosmology," I. Epstein, et al., eds., Essays in Honour of the Very Rev. Dr. J. H. Hertz (London, 1942), pp. 28ff. B. Pesahim 53a notes a tradition that the light now seen on earth was created on the eve of the Sabbath. B. Hagigah 12a states that the light created on the first day will be kept hidden until the age to come. Midrashic literature refers to an uncreated light; Asc. Isa. 8.21, 25 may refer to this light (cf. the comments on these verses in Charles, The Ascension of Isaiah). Cf. also Wisdom 7.26; Apocalypse of Abraham 17; Rev. 21.23; 22.5.

[3]Cf. Gen. 1.2; P. Reymond, L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'Ancien Testament (Leiden, 1958), pp. 172-76.

[4]ApJn 26.20f.; 27.3. The water is also "water of life" (ApJn 26.18) and "living water of light" (ApJn 26.20f.). If primordial water, primordial light, and divine life were thought of as interrelated, that fact

other Gnostic works also accept the idea of pre-existent water.[1] Non-Gnostic apocrypha also mention the existence of primordial water,[2] and some give water an

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could explain some of the emphasis in the fourth Gospel upon water, light, and life. Note also the light at Jesus' baptism in EvEb; cf. APaThec 34. Elkesaites thought of baptism as a substitute for sacrifice (Thomas, Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie, p. 150) and may consequently have considered water a substitute for fire. They also related the ideas of fire and water to God; cf. Epiphanius, Pan. 19.3.6f.; 53.1.7. Ebionites also substituted baptism for sacrifice (cf. Clem. Rec. 1.39), as did, apparently, the Qumran community (Schubert, op. cit., pp. 54-57). The Mandaeans thought that baptism in the Jordan brought light and life (Nötscher, op. cit., p. 139).

The emphasis upon baptism in "living" water (e.g. Didache 7.1; Clem. Hypomneta 1; EvPh 101) may be related to a notion that water gives life; cf. Clem. Hom. 11.24ff.; Clem. Rec. 6.8ff. Living water was required for Jewish purification rites (Num. 19.17) and had the highest degree of ritual purity (M. Mikwaoth 1.8). Even Jordan water was not valid for certain purposes, because it was a mixture of different kinds of water (M. Parah 8.10). Thus it is possible that the connexion between water, light, and life originated in Jewish thought and later passed into Jewish Christianity and into Gnosticism.

[1] OrWor 148.32; 151.30; 152.13; Hyp. Arch. 135.12ff.; ApJn 48.8f.

[2] EvBarth 2.13 states that God is the one who separated darkness from light and ὁ θεμελίους ὕδατος συστησάμενος ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ. There is no indication as to what ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ means; cf. the translations in ApocNT, p. 171; Evangelios, p. 587; by F. Scheidweiler in Apok 3, p. 365.

The writer of EvBarth may simply be referring to Gen. 1.9. But ApPa 45 states that all water flows from

extremely important place in the universe.[1]

The Egyptians believed in the great antiquity of water,[2] but the place given to water in Jewish-Christian and rabbinic thought is more closely related.[3] The canonical apocalypse mentions a heavenly sea before

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one tree in Paradise, and this may be the idea reflected in EvBarth 2.13. The idea probably has a Jewish basis; cf. Gen. R. 15 on Gen. 2.9; J. Berakoth 2c (TR 385). For other evidences of a preoccupation with water see EvBarth 4.59, 63. Cf. also the refs. to oceans and water in EpAp 3; ApPa 45; also the Garshuni apocalypse in Mingana, ed., Woodbrooke Studies, III, 107f., 113.

[1]Cf. the Mysteries of St. John (in Budge, Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt, pp. 59-74, 241-57) 3b-4a: "The Cherubim said to me, 'Hear, and I will show you everything. Before God had made the heaven and the earth there was water, and no one knows the creation of water except God alone. Therefore whoever shall swear falsely in the name of water, there will be no forgiveness for him.'"

[2]Budge, op. cit., p. lxviii. Aristides, Apol. 5, mentions that some people thought water to be divine.

[3]Clem. Hom. 11.24 states that water makes all things and is produced by a movement of the Spirit; Clem. Rec. 6.8 teaches that water was made first and then all else from it. Marmorstein, op. cit., I, 64, noted that the adjective "mighty," אדיר, was used only for God, Egypt, Israel, and the waters (cf. B. Menahoth 53a). For refs. to heavenly water cf. B. Hagigah 12a, 15a; Gen. R. 2 on Gen. 1.3; Bietenhard, op. cit., p. 168 n. 1. A heavenly ocean appears in II En. 3.3; in I En. 54.8 the earth is surrounded by water. Vita Adae 28.4 mentions that Paradise is surrounded by water. Perhaps related is the notion that God created the earth from balls of fire and snow (Gen. R. 10 on Gen. 2.1).

God's throne[1] and a sea of fire.[2] A combination of these two ideas might conceivably explain the "water of light" in the Apocryphon of John,[3] but Jewish writings also knew of "water of light" in heaven.[4] The concept

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[1]Rev. 4.6.

[2]Rev. 15.2, Καὶ εἶδον ὡς θάλασσαν ὑαλίνην μεμιγμένην πυρί.

[3]Although Bietenhard, op. cit., p. 62, suggested that the idea of heavenly fire and water came from observing that both starlight and rain come from heaven.

[4]In I En. 22.9 a "spring of water and light" is above the place of the righteous dead. The Gk reads, οὗ ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν αὐτῷ φωτεινή. R. H. Charles, The Book of Enoch (Oxford, 1893), p. 361, inserted τῆς ζωῆς after ὕδατος on the basis of one Eth Ms. This conjecture makes an almost exact parallel with ApJn 26.20f., ΠΜΟΟΥ ΕΤΟΝϩ ÑΤΕ ΠΟΥΟΪÑ.

Apocalypse of Abraham 17 mentions a fire in which is a voice "like a voice of many waters, like the sound of the sea" (cf. Rev. 1.15; Ezek. 1.24). Some rabbis taught that angels were made of fire and water; cf. Bonservin, op. cit., I, 228 n. 4. Deut. R. 5.12 on Deut. 20.10 states that Gabriel is made of fire and Michael of snow. Cf. also the association of fire and water in Num. R. 12.4 on Num. 7.1.

A possible mention of heavenly water occurred in P. Ox. 840 (cf. Evangelios, pp. 85ff.). At the end of the fragment Jesus says, "But I and [my disciples,] whom you say are not wa[shed,] we have been [wa]shed in ὕδασι ζω[ῆς . . . τοῖ]ς ἐλθοῦσιν ἀπὸ [. . .]. If the original ending was ὕδασι ζωῆς αἰωνίου τοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, as has been suggested (cf. Evangelios, p. 87; ApocNT, p. 30), the ref. was to some kind of divine, heavenly water. The idea of a river of fire flowing from God's throne may also be related; cf. Bietenhard, op. cit., p. 75; Edsman, Le baptême de feu, pp. 19-31.

of primordial water and light could have arisen from independent observation of the sky; but when the Apocryphon of John presents a water of light that surrounds God, the closest parallels exist in writings used by Jews and Jewish Christians.

Gnostic writers seem to have placed a significant emphasis upon speculations concerning the first man.[1] It is possible that these developed directly from Jewish speculations about Adam.[2] Some similar ideas are also evident within the non-Gnostic apocrypha. A number of them mention Adam's extraordinary height,[3] an idea which came ultimately from Judaism.[4] A notion common among

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[1]See ApJn 49-63; Pistis Sophia 99; Epiphanius, Pan. 37.4; Irenaeus, Haer. 1.30.6. Cf. Bousset, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis, pp. 160-223.

[2]Cf. Quispel, "Der gnostische Anthropos und die jüdische Tradition," Eranos Jahrbuch, 22 (1953), 195-234.

[3]EvBarth 1.21f.; BoRe 11a; the Mysteries of St. John 12a (Budge, op. cit., pp. 67f.). ApPa (Copt) also mentions Adam's height; cf. ApocNT, p. 554.

[4]Cf. Apocalypse of Abraham 23; B. Hagigah 12a; B. Baba Bathra 75a; Str-B IV, 946f. Others are also sometimes said to be of immense size, possibly a trait of Jewish-Christian teaching (cf. Daniélou, Théologie du judéo-christianisme, p. 32); see T. Reuben 5.7. EvBarth 4.12f. says that Beliar is of immense size. On the height of the offspring that resulted from the union

the Gnostics was that Adam was androgynous.[1] Non-Gnostic apocrypha place less emphasis upon the idea,[2] but the opinion that Adam was androgynous was common in pre-Christian Judaism[3] and may even be reflected in the New Testament.[4]

A number of Gnostic writings interpret the temptation of Eve in the Garden as an indication that Eve had sexual relations with the archons.[5] This idea

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between women and angels cf. I En. 7.2; Dam. Doc. 2.19. Elxai taught that some angels were of great size; cf. Hippolytus, Elench. 9.13. OrWor 158.18 refers to the enormous size of the tree of life in Paradise. On the large size of Christ cf. below, p. 298.

[1]Cf. Hippolytus, Elench. 5.6; Irenaeus, Haer. 1.30.3. In Gnostic systems various aeons are often considered male-female. Cf. also EvPh 71, 78; SJC 94.10ff.; OrWor 149.10f.

[2]EvEg (cited by Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 3.13.92) mentions the "two" becoming "one" and the male with the female being no longer male or female. The same idea is in II Clement 12.2 and EvTho 22 and seems implicit in the Mysteries of St. John 12b-13a (Budge, op. cit., p. 68).

[3]Cf. Gen. R. 8 on Gen. 1.26; Philo, De opif. mund. 24.76.

[4]Cf. Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 72ff.

[5]Cf. ApJn 58.4-7; 62.4-10; Hippolytus, Elench. 5.26; Irenaeus, Haer. 1.30.7 (cf. 1.24.2, "Nubere autem et generare a Satana dicunt esse"). See also Hyp. Arch. 137.21-26, and the unpublished writing cited by Doresse,

apparently developed from an earlier belief that Eve and the serpent had had sexual relations, a belief which apparently originated within Judaism[1] and which is reflected in a number of non-Gnostic apocrypha.[2] A related idea is the often-expressed notion that Adam did not sin;[3] the role some apocrypha assign to the virgin

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The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, p. 169.

[1]Cf. B. Sotah 9b; B. Yebamoth 103b; B. Shabbath 146a; Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, I, 105; V, 133f. This belief may also be behind IV Maccabees 18.7f., I En. 69.6, II En. 31.6, and II Cor. 11.3. See also F. R. Tennant, The Sources of the Doctrine of the Fall and Original Sin (Cambridge, 1903), p. 156.

These refs. indicate that the serpent was jealous of Adam, especially of his sexual relationships (Gen. R. 18 on Gen. 2.25; B. Sanhedrin 59b; Philo, Quaest. 31 on Gen. 3.1), and that he wanted to kill Adam in order to marry Eve; cf. Gen. R. 20 on Gen. 3.15; Tos. Sotah 4.17-18 (TR 1487). Note the refs. to the Devil as a murderer (John 8.44) and as someone jealous (Wisdom 2.24).

That serpents continued to have sexual relations with women is taught in B. Shabbath 110a; cf. IV Maccabees 18.7f. B. Erubin 18b, Gen. R. 20 on Gen. 3.20, and Gen. R. 24 on Gen. 5.1 state that Eve was made pregnant by visiting spirits at night.

[2]Prot 13.1; the context indicates that the serpent had seduced Eve, and the Syriac version makes this explicit. Cf. Evangelios, p. 168 n. 79; Amann, Le Protévangile de Jacques et ses remaniements latins, p. 231. See also EvPh 42. EvBarth 4.59 considers original sin to have been related to sexual activity; the Gk implies that the Devil seduced Eve by giving her an aphrodisiac (but cf. Lat).

[3]Cf. EvBarth 4.5f.; EpAp 39. According to EvEg

seems based upon a belief that only women need salvation.[1] Such ideas may have resulted from speculation upon the inferior position of women[2] or could have

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(cited by Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 3.9.63) Christ came to destroy the works of the female. See also Clem. Hom. 2.52; 3.17-24. A literal interpretation of Eph. 5.23 and I Cor. 11.3 could lead to the same conclusion. Cf. also Vita Adae 3.2; 16.4; 18.1; Barnabas 12.5. The idea that Eve was in the west (where Hell is) and Adam in the east (where Paradise is) may reflect the same idea; cf. EvBarth 3.7; 4.5; ApMos 15; Vita Adae 18.2; I En. 22, 32; Gen. 2.8.

[1] EvBarth 4.6. Cf. the common habit of comparing Eve and Mary: Justin, Dial. 100; Prot. 13.1; Armenian Infancy Gospel 8.10 to 9.1 (cf. Evangelios, p. 381 n.); Irenaeus, Haer. 3.22.4; Epiphanius, Pan. 78.18. See also Harnack, History of Dogma, II, 277 n. 1; W. Staerk, "Eva-Maria: ein Beitrag zur Denk- und Sprechweise der altkirchlichen Christologie," ZNW 33 (1934), 97-104.

[2] M. Sotah 3.4; B. Yoma 66b; Tos. Berakoth 6.18 (TR 493); Josephus, C. Apion 2.24. Note also the notion that a woman must become male in order to be saved; cf. EvTho 114; Exc. Theod. 21.3; 79. Cf. also the Dialogue of the Saviour cited by Doresse, op. cit., p. 221. That notion does not, however, lie behind EvMar 17.10-23 and 9.19f. as Grant and Freedman asserted (cf. Grant-Freedman, The Secret Sayings of Jesus, pp. 77f., 186). Peter's doubt of Mary's words in EvMar is because of her claim to secret tradition, not because she is a woman; her statement that the Lord "has made us men" refers to ⲣⲱⲙⲉ, human beings, not to ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ as in EvTho 114. John 4.27 is also not related to this idea (cf. Grant-Freedman, op. cit., p. 186); there the important fact is that Jesus talks to a Samaritan woman (cf. John 4.9), a woman whom the Jews would consider unclean (M. Niddah 4.1; Daube, op. cit., pp. 373f.). Even a reader unaware of the Jewish background would recognise from the context that her religion, not her sex, is the

arison within groups opposed to sexual relationships.[1] But these ideas apparently came ultimately from Judaism and must have been brought into Christianity by Jewish Christians.

Other developments from the creation stories are found in the idea that all the water in the world comes from one tree in Eden[2] and in the view that Paradise is

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central feature of the story.

Grant and Freedman also wrongly connect the idea of the male and female becoming one (as in EvEg) with the notion that women must become male to be saved (Grant-Freedman, op. cit., p. 186). The idea of the two becoming one is based upon the ancient Jewish idea that Adam was androgynous (cf. Daube, op. cit., pp. 71ff.); the notion that only Eve sinned probably lies behind the view that in order to be saved a woman must become male.

Note also that Clem. Hom. 3.22 contrasts John the baptist ("born of woman") with the Lord ("son of man").

[1]Cf. the citations from the Epistle of Titus in D. de Bruyne, "Nouveaux fragments des Actes de Pierre, de Paul, de Jean, d'André, et de l'Apocalypse d'Élie," Revue bénédictine, 25 (1908), 149-60. One section of it (de Bruyne, art. cit., p. 156; cf. ApocNT, p. 266) refers to sexual relations as "experimentum serpentis." Cf. also the use made of EvEg (Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 3.9.63). According to some Jewish traditions Adam lived a celibate life after the fall (Gen. R. 23 on Gen. 4.23; B. Erubin 18b). Opposition to sexual relationships existed both in Judaism (Josephus, Bell. Jud. 2.8.2) and in second-century Christianity (Irenaeus, Haer. 1.28.1; Hippolytus, Elench. 5.8). Cf. below, pp. 530-34.

[2]ApPa 45. Cf. EvBarth 2.13; Rev. 22.1f.; AEho 141; Ginzberg, op. cit., V, 91 nn. 50, 51.

not on earth but in heaven.[1] A few writings indicate that the Tempter did not belong in Paradise and that he had to find a way into the garden before he could tempt Eve.[2]

A radical metaphysical dualism set Gnostics apart from other groups; they alone could think of matter as an absolute evil.[3] Some of the apocrypha do not present a Gnostic view of matter but do strongly emphasize the infinite superiority of what is spiritual and eternal over temporal and physical concerns. This kind of dualism is most pronounced in the apocryphal Acts. In the Acts of Andrew, Andrew at one point says that his

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[1] ApPa 45; ApMos 40.2 (cf. 38.5); II Baruch 4.2-6; IV Ezra 4.8; II En. 8. Jews also taught that God created Eden before he created earth; cf. IV Ezra 3.6; B. Pesahim 54a; B. Nedarim 39b; Bietenhard, Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum, pp. 161-86.

[2] Cf. the 11th or 12th century Gk Ms., apparently related to the Acts of Peter, cited by Lipsius, Apk. Apg. II.1, 233. See also ApMos 16.1 to 19.1; Abdias 7.5; the Mysteries of St. John 11b (Budge, op. cit., p. 67).

[3] "Various trends of Greek philosophy contributed to the idea that matter as such is evil, but this theory is much more fully developed by the Gnostics" (Wilson, The Gnostic Problem, p. 205).

antagonist is of the same nature as Andrew's body.[1] The implication is that the body itself, even of an apostle, is corrupt and evil.[2] The idea that the soul is imprisoned in a body--a concept derived ultimately from Greek thought--is found also in the apocryphal Acts.[3] And sometimes the apostles are represented as despising anything generally considered valuable or desirable by others.[4] But none of the statements seem to indicate particular Gnostic influence; the writers probably reflected ideas common in the Hellenistic world.

A certain contrast between the flesh and the spirit took firm root in Judaism and is reflected in the Pauline epistles.[5] The possibly-related Jewish idea of

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[1]AAn (Gk 808) 7, where Aegeates is evil and unredeemable (cf. c. 8, ὁ τοῦ Αἰγεάτου πατὴρ διάβολος) and Andrew's body is συγγενοῦς ὄντος αὐτοῦ.

[2]Cf. also AAn (Gk 808) 15, where ἡ φύσις is apparently evil.

[3]ATho 160; APe 8. Note also the Hymn of the Pearl in ATho 108ff.; on this see A. F. J. Klijn, "The so-called Hymn of the Pearl (Acts of Thomas ch. 108-113)," VC 14 (1960), 154-64. On this kind of dualism cf. Wilson, op. cit., pp. 45-47 and the refs. there.

[4]Cf. e.g. AJn 70; APh 57.

[5]See Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 17-35, 352f.

the יצר הרע is mentioned in the Syriac version of the Acts of Thomas.[1] The idea that the flesh is evil could have resulted from the fact that in the Old Testament בָּשָׂר generally refers to man's weakness[2] and that man cannot in this life be rid of the yetzer ha-ra.[3] The Gnostic idea of an ἀντίμιμον πνεῦμα[4] seems possibly related to rabbinic teaching about the yetzer ha-ra.[5] According to the Apocryphon of John the antimimon pneuma

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[1]AThe 70 (Syriac).

[2]Cf. e.g. Isa. 10.18; 40.6; Ps. 56.4.

[3]B. Yoma 69b states that men in Zechariah's time used the divine name to banish the yetzer ha-ra; but when that happened life on earth came to a standstill. Cf. also Gen. R. 9 on Gen. 1.31. The yetzer ha-ra included, but went beyond, sexual impulses; it was part of a person from birth. For discussion of Jewish teaching concerning the yetzer ha-ra cf. Montefiore-Loewe, A Rabbinic Anthology, pp. 295-314; Str-B IV, 466-83; Bonservin, Le Judaïsme palestinien au temps de Jésus-Christ, II, 18-23.

[4]ApJn 67ff., 71-75; Pistis Sophia 39, 111-16.

[5]Wilson, op. cit., p. 166 n. 36. The Qumran doctrine of two spirits is different; there the spirits of light and darkness seem to be pre-mundane, cosmological principles (cf. the Manual of Discipline 3.25 to 4.1), and the angel of darkness is the cause of sin even in the sons of righteousness (Manual of Discipline 3.21f.). On the Qumran teaching cf. Nötscher, Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte, pp. 82f. The antimimon pneuma worked within man; the Qumran angel of darkness was above man. The yetzer ha-ra is related to both ideas.

has been implanted in every man, as has also, it appears, the spirit of life.[1] People in whom the antimimon pneuma predominates will die; those with the spirit of life will live.[2] The antimimon pneuma leads men into evil; but those who overcome[3] the antimimon pneuma avoid evil.[4] The Gnostic understanding is not that Gnostics receive the spirit of life while others do not; all men, unless they have followed the true way and then abandoned it, will eventually be saved.[5]

Jewish teaching about the yetzer ha-ra is almost exactly parallel. The rabbis taught that both the yetzer ha-ra and the yetzer ha-tob work in man.[6] The former leads him into idolatry and consequent damnation.[7] Just as the Gnostic antimimon pneuma is related to

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[1] ApJn 67.1-18. [2] ApJn 65.3-6; 68.17 to 69.10.

[3] ⲡ ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲉ-, excel? See W. E. Crum, A Coptic Dictionary (Oxford, 1939), p. 737.

[4] ApJn 68.4-7.

[5] ApJn 68.14 to 69.13; 70.9 to 71.2.

[6] M. Berakoth 9.5; B. Berakoth 5a, 61a; Gen. R. 14 on Gen. 2.7; Str-B IV, 467.

[7] B. Abodah Zarah 17a; B. Yoma 69b; Str-B IV, 467.

sexual desire,[1] so also the yetzer ha-ra includes sexual impulses.[2] In the Apocryphon of John the spirit of life strives to keep men from following evil, but it is not always successful;[3] a knowledge of Gnostic teaching is of greater significance in warding off the antimimon pneuma.[4] Similarly in Judaism the study of the law was the primary weapon against the yetzer ha-ra.[5] Since a doctrine of the antimimon pneuma is not necessary to any Gnostic system it seems likely that the idea came into Gnosticism as a development from some older idea. If so, rabbinic Judaism contains the closest parallel.[6] If Gnostics did not get the idea directly from Judaism,

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[1] ApJn 75.4-7.

[2] Str-B IV, 467; Gen. R. 9 on Gen. 1.31. Most of the passages cited in Montefiore-Loewe, loc. cit., relate to sexual desires.

[3] This is evident from the fact that some people follow the way of truth and afterwards fall away from it; cf. ApJn 70.9 to 71.2.

[4] This is implied by the fact that the antimimon pneuma attempts to bring people into an inability to know (ϬѠϵ=ἀναισθησία); ApJn 68.17 to 69.5.

[5] Sifre on Deut. 11.18 (TR 295); B. Kiddushin 30b.

[6] Note that in ApJn the explanation of the origin and nature of the antimimon pneuma occurs in a context of a recital of stories about Adam and Noah.

they may have received it from Jewish Christians.

Jews associated the yetzer ha-ra with sexual impulses and believed that without it animals and humans would cease to reproduce.[1] This fact may explain some of the prohibitions of sexual relations found among Jewish sects.[2] Many Gnostics also forbade sexual relationships,[3] and some apocrypha represent the apostles as forbidding marital relationships.[4] Some of the apparent condemnation of marriage may simply reflect certain aspects of Pauline teaching.[5] But in some apocrypha continence is evidently a requirement for

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[1]B. Yoma 69b; B. Sanhedrin 64a; Gen. R. 9 on Gen. 1.31; cf. T. Reuben 2.8, 9.

[2]Josephus, Bell. Jud. 2.8.2. Some Jews felt that sexual relations should be forbidden on the Sabbath; cf. Jub 50.8 and the note by R. H. Charles, The Book of Jubilees (London, 1902), p. 259.

[3]Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 3.1.1-3; 3.6.45; Irenaeus, Haer. 1.28.1; Tertullian, Adv. Marc. 1.29; 4.11; Hippolytus, Elench. 7.30.

[4]AJn 63, 113; APaThec 5, 9, 12, et passim; APe 33f.; AAn (Greg) 23, 28, 35; AAn (Gk 808) 5ff.; ATho 12, et passim; APh 50f.; APeAn 8. Note the citation from the Acts of John in the Epistle of Titus (de Bruyne, art. cit., p. 156; ApocNT, p. 266). Cf. ApJn 63.5ff.; 75.4ff.

[5]AJn 63 and 113 could have a meaning similar to that of Paul in I Cor. 7.

eternal life. The reasons given for this view vary. In some cases this teaching may have resulted from a reaction against the sexual promiscuity of the age[1] or from a feeling that sexual activity causes the cares of family life and weakens the body.[2] Sometimes continence is related to a Christian desire to renounce the temporal world in order to lay hold upon the eternal one.[3]

More often, however, it appears that sexual activity was considered an evil in itself, apart from its results. The Jewish belief that sexual relations began with the fall could have produced such an attitude;[4] a belief that the yetzer ha-ra causes all sexual desire could also be related. In either case Jewish Christians who believed that Christ had overcome all evil would believe that he had overcome sexual desires--as his unmarried life testified. Such Christians might also deduce that by following his example and defeating sexual desire one could completely

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[1]Cf. APe 33. [2]Cf. ATho 12. [3]Cf. ATho 130.

[4]Cf. Tennant, op. cit., pp. 153-60; R. Gordis, "The Knowledge of Good and Evil in the Old Testament and the Qumran Scrolls," JBL 76 (1957), 123-38.

subdue the yetzer ha-ra and could therefore be victorious over all temptation.[1] This kind of reasoning may explain the emphasis upon continence found in the apocryphal Acts; although the apostles strongly oppose sexual activity they avoid Gnostic teaching that the world, matter, or flesh is evil in itself.[2] In this area Christians went beyond the teaching of the rabbis; the rabbis believed that one could not be rid of the yetzer ha-ra until the age to come,[3] while Christians thought that because of Christ victory could be achieved now. Any Jewish Christian might have had occasion to emphasize that difference.[4]

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[1]Such thought may lie behind ATho 84, "Adultery is the cause (ἀφορμή) of all evils."

[2]The rabbis did not identify the yetzer ha-ra with flesh, בָּשָׂר, although they probably felt that it worked primarily in or through the flesh. Possibly related is the fact that בָּשָׂר denoted the male sex organs (cf. Lev. 15.2f.; Ezek. 16.26; 23.20).

Note also AJn 53f., where John tells a young man (who has just castrated himself) not to be concerned with a bodily organ, but with the thought (ἔννοια), "the hidden springs by which every base emotion (κίνησις) is stirred." Such a description aptly characterises the yetzer ha-ra.

[3]B. Sukkah 52a; IV Ezra 8.53.

[4]Cf. Rom. 7.5 to 8.2.

III. THE HEAVENLY POWERS

The apocryphal literature is filled with references to angels and demons. A belief in angels, archangels, and other heavenly powers was an important factor in Judaism and Christianity, as well as in Gnosticism. Although almost any Christian could have written most apocryphal descriptions of angels and demons, it must not be forgotten that Christian angelology and demonology originated within Judaism.[1] Presumably Jewish Christians were responsible for at least some of its development.

Angels.[2] In the Acts of Peter the word angel retains its original meaning of messenger;[3] and if that

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[1]For a comparison of Jewish and Christian views cf. especially Lueken, Michael: eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael; see also Bietenhard, op. cit., pp. 101-42.

[2]On Jewish angelology cf. Bousset-Gressmann, Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter, pp. 320-31; A. Marmorstein, "Anges et hommes dans l'Agada," REJ 84 (1927), 37-50, 138-40; Bonservin, op. cit., I, 222-39. For the angelology in Hellenism, Judaism, the OT and NT, cf. Grundmann, von Rad, and Kittel, "ἄγγελος," TWNT I (Stuttgart, 1933), 72-87.

[3]APe 12, 17, 18, 32. Simon is referred to as

is true in one work it may occasionally be the case in others.[1] This observation should serve as a warning against conclusions drawn from apparent references to angels which are not, in fact, angels at all. Christian ideas about angels are rooted in Judaism, although beliefs in other cultures greatly influenced Jewish views concerning angels.[2] Jewish beliefs about angels are reflected in the New Testament and became further developed within the Christian church.[3] The Gnostic belief in angels presumably came directly from either Christianity or Judaism; in either case Judaism was the ultimate source. Consequently parallels between the beliefs about angels reflected in the apocrypha and the teachings of Gnostics or Jewish Christians do not always have a great deal of significance. But such parallels

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"angelus satanae"; cf. MPe 3, ὁ τοῦ διαβόλου ἄγγελος. APe 12 refers to Peter as "angelo et apostolo dei vere." Cf. also APe 28.

[1] Cf. APaTheo 5; APe 8; Acts 12.15.

[2] Cf. Bousset-Gressmann, op. cit., p. 320.

[3] For Christian views of angels cf. A. Lemonnyer, "Angélologie chrétienne," Dictionnaire de la Bible, supplément, I (Paris, 1928), 255-62; Grundmann, et al., loc. cit.; J. Michl et al., "Engel," Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, III (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1959), 863-75.

should at least be noted.

Angels often appear in the apocrypha for the purpose of communicating divine messages or giving instructions. Most of these appearances probably depend upon Biblical examples.[1] Sometimes when a person is undecided about what to do in a particular situation, an angel appears to advise him.[2] Angels appear under similar circumstances often in the Old and New Testaments. But some of the apocryphal Acts seem deliberately to suppress the role of angels; in such works Christ himself appears instead of an angel to give any needed advice or instruction. These apocrypha virtually ignore the existence of angels altogether or

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[1]The account of the annunciation in Prot 11 is based upon the account in Luke 1. For other refs. to the annunciation cf. Ps-Matt. 9; Armenian Infancy Gospel 5; EvBarth 2.18ff.; EpAp 14. Note also the annunciation of Mary's birth in Prot 4.1; cf. Ps-Matt. 3.

[2]See e.g. Prot 14.2 (cf. Ps-Matt. 11; Matt. 1.19f.). Such angelic instructions occur in Prot 8.3; Ps-Matt. 25 (cf. Matt. 2.19f.; Inf. Tho. 3.1, Lat); Ps-Matt. 13.2 (based upon Prot 18.1); API 13.1 (cf. EvPe 55f.; Mark 16.5f.; Matt. 28.5ff.); Desc. (Lat B) 1.6; Desc. (Lat A, Gk) 3 (=Lat B 4.3), 11; AAn (Greg) 10; Abdias 6.22; ApPa 1f.; the Life of John the Baptist in Mingana, ed., Woodbrooke Studies, I, 245; the Jeremiah Apocryphon in Mingana, ed., op. cit., I, 182. Cf. also Acts 10.3ff.

limit their appearances to a few minor instances.[1] The later apocryphal Acts tend to introduce more angels.[2]

The tendency to minimise the role of angels is not related to any Gnostic influence or lack of it,[3]

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[1]In AJn 76 a νεανίσκος εὔμορφος (i.e. Jesus) is called an ἄγγελον Θεοῦ. Here ἄγγελος means simply messenger. AJn 104 says that God is higher than all angels, powers, etc., and in AJn 114 John prays at death that devils will fear and angels follow. AJn nowhere else mentions any angels. In ATho angels carry a soul to heaven (ATho 22), are said to have been brought down by the serpent to lust after women (ATho 32), and are part of the world above, with God, watchers, holy ones, etc. (ATho 36).

In APh angels take souls to Paradise (APh 137) and one opens the door of Hell (APh 4). In the Lat Acts of John (Abdias 5.14) God restores some jewels by the hands of his angels; the same work mentions guardian angels (Abdias 5.17). For "angel" in the sense of messenger cf. above, p. 226 n. 3. APaThec 6 states that Christians will judge angels. AAn (Greg) introduces an angel for protection of an individual on three occasions (cc. 9, 18, 23), and once an angel tells Andrew what to do (c. 10). Cf. also AAn (Greg) 11, 28. Angels occur in MMatt but have virtually no place at all in Inf. Tho.

[2]Cf. e.g. the Syriac Act of Philip in Wright, Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, II, 69-92 (cf. ApocNT, pp. 450ff.), and AAnMatt. Cf. also APeAn 10f.

[3]Gnostics usually regarded angels as creatures of the Demiurge. If Gnostic teaching had caused the lack of any emphasis upon angels, that fact would not explain why later catholic Christian redactors failed to introduce any angels. Lipsius, in fact, considered the presence of angels a sign of Gnostic influence (Apk. Apg. I, 7) and felt that the catholic Bearbeitungen left refs. to angels unchanged (Apk. Apg. I, 8).

nor is it related to the date of composition of an apocryphal work.[1] Rather it seems to be related to the period of time described in certain of the apocrypha. Those that give angels an important place often cover the period before Christ's birth[2] or else they mention angels solely with reference to events in heaven[3] or to a person's death.[4] Some apocrypha are later developments from earlier works and introduce angels where there were none previously.[5] All the apocryphal writers apparently believed that angels exist, but some seem to have felt that God no longer uses them to reveal his will to men. They evidently held that now Christ fulfills the function of messenger from God and that he, instead of angels, appears in visions and dreams, issues special instructions, etc.[6]

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[1]Both Prot and Inf. Tho. date from the 2nd century; Prot has many angels, Inf. Tho. almost none.

[2]E.g. Prot and other works telling of the life of the virgin; cf. also Desc. (Lat A, Gk) 3.

[3]E.g. ATho 36.

[4]EvPe 55f.; cf. below, pp. 233-35.

[5]Compare Ps-Matt. 13.2 with Prot 18.1.

[6]Inf. Tho. tells that Jesus did many wonders, but

In their suppression of angels the writers of the apocryphal Acts followed a pattern discernible within the canonical Scriptures. In the Old Testament and in the Synoptic infancy narratives angels appear a number of times. The Gospels mention angels with reference to Jesus' life only during his infancy,[1] after his temptation,[2] before the passion,[3] and at the resurrection.[4] From the Gospel references to angels a Christian could infer that Christ has command over the angels and could summon them should he need them. But he would also infer that the angels fulfilled no earthly function during Christ's active ministry; they only appeared at times when Jesus himself was weak[5] or

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it introduces no angels. Inf. Tho. (Lat) 3 mentions an angel, but this is based upon Matt. 2.13, 19. At one point Christ is compared with an angel; cf. Inf. Tho. (Gk A) 7.4 and 17.2; Inf. Tho. (Lat) 6.11. This may indicate that Christ took over the functions of the angels. Inf. Tho. (Gk B) mentions no angels at all.

[1]Matt. 1.20, 24; 2.13, 19; Lk. 1.26-38; 2.9-15.

[2]Matt. 4.11; Mark 1.13. [3]Luke 22.43.

[4]Matt. 28.2, 5; Luke 24.23; John 20.12. The only other angelic appearance (except in discussions about angels in heaven) is in some Mss. of John 5.4.

[5]I.e. during his infancy, after the temptation, or at the passion.

absent.[1] After the resurrection it was Christ who would bring God's messages to the apostles, so there was no need for angels to do so. This seems to have been the understanding of the writers of most of the apocryphal Acts.[2]

And this is probably the sense in which the term "angel Christology" is applicable to the understanding of Christ in the early church.[3] Christians felt that the functions formerly fulfilled by angels were now fulfilled by Christ.[4] Jews could picture an elevated

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[1]Cf. the angelic announcements in the resurrection and ascension narratives.

[2]They went beyond the canonical book of Acts, where angels do sometimes give directions to people; cf. Acts 5.19f.; 8.26; 10.3ff.; 12.7f.; 23.9.

[3]On the idea of an angel Christology cf. Lueken, op. cit., pp. 133-66; A. Bakker, "Christ an Angel," ZNW 32 (1933), 255-65; J. Barbel, Christos Angelos (Bonn, 1941); Kretschmar, Studien zur frühchristlichen Trinitätstheologie, pp. 105-21, 220ff.; Daniélou, Théologie du judéo-christianisme, pp. 167-98; cf. also Werner, Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas, pp. 302-49, on which see W. Michaelis, Zur Engelchristologie im Urchristentum: Abbau der Konstruction Martin Werners (Basel, 1942). Also see below, pp. 304-08.

[4]Michaelis, op. cit., pp. 155, 157. Note that Michael was thought to act as a heavenly high priest, but Christ took over that function; cf. Heb. 9.11, 12; Kretschmar, op. cit., p. 222; Bietenhard, Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum, pp. 123-37.

God who used angels as his messengers; early Jewish Christians identified Jesus both with God and with the angels.[1] The writers of the apocryphal Acts had Christ appear in the circumstances under which angels had formerly appeared, but they clearly considered him as God or as the Son of God. Consequently it appears that in this area ideas originating among Jewish Christians affected the apocryphal Acts in their presentation of Christ and the angels.

One of the angelic functions which Christ did not take over, however, was that of carrying the souls of men into heaven. In various apocrypha angels nearly always appear to aid a dying person or to take his soul to heaven;[2] sometimes unnamed angels, sometimes a

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[1]Cf. Werner, op. cit., p. 345; Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 167-98; Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, p. 95.

[2]The details vary. In HiJos 23 Michael, Gabriel, and an angelic choir are present at Joseph's death; Michael and Gabriel wrap the soul and the other angels take it away. In Desc. (Lat A, Gk) 9 Jesus leads the saints out of Hell and delivers them to Michael, who takes them into Paradise. EvBarth 1.21f. states that angels carried Adam up out of Hell. BoRe 11a and 18a has Michael bring Adam and Eve to the Father and bring another man's soul into heaven.

For other presentations cf. the Assumption of Mary (Lat B, in Tischendorf, Apocalypses apocryphae,

guardian angel, sometimes Michael takes the soul. The idea that angels assist the soul at death is not related to Gnostic thought. For Gnostics a knowledge of passwords or of one's own nature secured a safe passage into the higher world.[1]

Even the Acts of Thomas, which records numerous appearances of Christ and virtually ignores the existence of angels, reports that angels conduct a soul into heaven.[2] In some accounts of the assumption of the virgin Christ takes over this function also.[3] But most Christians probably believed that Christ cannot be present at a person's death; he is the antithesis to

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pp. 124-36) 8(9).2; cf. 16(17).1; cf. also the Copt homily attributed to Euodius, 12.10, in F. Robinson, Coptic Apocryphal Gospels (Cambridge, 1896), p. 60; ATho 22; APh 137; MMatt 30; ApPe (Eth) 4, 6, 13, pp. 512f., 514, 517; Sib. Or. 2.214ff., 228ff.; ApPa 14, 15f. (cf. ApPa 22, 25, 26).

[1]Cf. Bousset, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis, pp. 313f.; Jonas, Gnosis und spätantiker Geist, I, 205ff.; idem, The Gnostic Religion, pp. 44-46.

[2]ATho 22.

[3]Cf. the Discourse of Theodosius (in Robinson, op. cit., pp. 111-17) 6; Iohannis liber de dormitione Mariae (in Tischendorf, op. cit., pp. 95-112) 44; the Assumption of Mary (Lat A, in Tischendorf, op. cit., pp. 113-123) 11.

death, and where he is death cannot come.[1] Since Christ overcame death, Christians presumably felt that Christ's presence would keep anyone from dying. Consequently Jewish Christians retained the Jewish idea that angels conducted men's souls into heaven,[2] and the writers of the apocrypha accepted that understanding. The idea came ultimately from Judaism but was presumably brought into Christianity by Jewish Christians.

Some writers name Michael as the angel who assists human souls at death or who ushers them into Paradise. But the apocrypha differ in their conceptions of Michael's primary function. Some regard him as the guardian of man's body[3] or as the angel who guards Paradise to keep out intruders.[4] In some, Michael

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[1]HiJos 23; the homily attributed to Euodius, 12.4f. (Robinson, op. cit., p. 59).

[2]Cf. Luke 16.22; T. Asher 6.5f.; T. Benjamin 6.1; Lueken, op. cit., pp. 43-49. Cf. also B. Ketuboth 104a; Str-B II, 223-25.

[3]Desc. (Lat A) 3; EvBarth 4.53. Cf. Vita Adae 41.2; ApMos 32.3; Jude 9.

[4]Cf. Gen. 3.24; Desc. (Lat A, Gk) 10; Assumption of Mary (Lat B, in Tischendorf, op. cit., pp. 124-36) 8(9).2.

intercedes on behalf of men;[1] he is also called the prince of the people of the Jews.[2] All these ideas derive from Jewish thought and were eventually accepted by many Christians. Jews believed that Michael interceded for Israel[3] and was the prince over Israel,[4] "merciful and long-suffering."[5] In the apocrypha

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[1]EvBarth 1.9; BoRe 12b; Obsequies of the Virgin, in Wright, Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament, p. 48; ApPa 43. Some people apparently believed that Michael's prayers caused water to come each year; cf. the Mysteries of St. John 2a-3b (Budge, Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt, p. 61; cf. p. 243 n. 2). Angels also intercede in the Jeremiah Apocryphon, in Mingana, ed., Woodbrooke Studies, I, 160. For evidence of the high regard for Michael in later Christian thought cf. E. A. W. Budge, Saint Michael the Archangel: Three Encomiums (London, 1894); Lueken, op. cit., passim.

[2]He is the angel of the covenant (ApPa 14) and possibly the one who led Israel in the wilderness (cf. the cloud of fire in AAnMatt 30).

[3]Lueken, op. cit., pp. 9-12; Str-B III, 813. Cf. Daniélou, op. cit., p. 175; I En. 40.6; B. Yoma 77a; Exod. R. 18.5 on Exod. 12.29. On the idea of angels interceding on behalf of men cf. also Job 5.1; Zech. 1.12; T. Levi 3.5; I En. 15.2; 47.2.

[4]Lueken, op. cit., pp. 13-30; Daniel 10.21; 12.1; I En. 20.5. Christians also sometimes thought of Michael as the angel over the Jews; cf. Lueken, op. cit., pp. 100-111.

[5]I En. 40.9.

Michael prays for water[1] because in Jewish thought he is the angel-prince set over water.[2] He is present in apocryphal accounts of Christ's descent into Hell probably because of Jewish ideas that Michael was one of the angels who opened the gates of Hell to release the sinners there.[3] In Jewish thought he played an important part in the death of the righteous,[4] and this role is stressed in both Jewish and Christian apocrypha.[5] The attributes of Michael found in the apocrypha coincide directly with what is found in Judaism; these ideas must have been carried into the church by Jewish Christians and were eventually accepted by the writers of the apocrypha.

The idea that Michael is the angel over Israel was probably related to the idea that Michael was the

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[1]Cf. above, p. 236 n. 1.

[2]Cf. Lueken, Michael, pp. 53ff.

[3]Cf. ibid., p. 52; Apocalypse of Abraham 10.

[4]Testament of Abraham 1; ApMos 37.

[5]Note also that in Asc. Isa. 3.16 Michael opens the sepulchre when Christ rises from the dead. Ass. Mos. 10.2 even implies that Michael, rather than the Messiah, will bring about the final restoration.

highest of all the angels. Jews felt that each nation had an angel assigned to it,[1] and they thought of Michael as the highest of the archangels.[2] The conclusion followed naturally that Israel was the nation allotted to Michael. Michael was also thought to be a heavenly high priest corresponding to the earthly high priest.[3]

In Jewish and Christian apocrypha Michael is

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[1]Cf. Deut. 32.8 LXX; Philo, De plant. Noah 14.59; Sirach 17.17; see Bietenhard, op. cit., pp. 108-13. Jewish Christians held the same belief, and the notion finally developed that Michael was head over the church; cf. Hermas, Sim. 8.3.3. Cf. also Clem. Rec. 2.42; I Clement 29.2; Justin, Dial. 131.

[2]Lueken, op. cit., pp. 32-43. T. Naphtali (Hebrew) 8-9 seems to place Michael above the 70 angels of the nations; these angels teach the 70 languages of the world, among which Hebrew is the holy language. It is possible that here Michael combines the functions of prince over Israel and prince over the rest of the angels.

For Hebrew as the holy language see also ApPa 30; Abdias 6.22; B. Sotah 33a; Jub 3.28; 12.25f.; T. Naphtali (Hebrew) 8.6; Str-B II, 443; III, 49. Michael is often named in the magical papyri; cf. the refs. in Barbel, op. cit., pp. 226 n. 205.

[3]B. Hagigah 12b. The Jewish idea of a heavenly service conducted by angels at a heavenly altar is also reflected in EpAp 13, as well as in the epistle to the Hebrews. Cf. the discussion in Bietenhard, op. cit., pp. 123-37.

usually named first in lists of the archangels;[1] in the New Testament he leads the war against Satan.[2] The apocryphal writers considered him chief over the angels.[3] In some apocrypha Michael and Gabriel share the same function; occasionally Gabriel is assigned to a position normally given to Michael.[4] Some Christians eventually considered Gabriel the highest angel; the gradual merging of the figure of Christ with that of Michael was probably the main cause for this development.[5] With Christ and Michael merged into one, Gabriel

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[1]Cf. e.g. I En. 9.1; 40.9; II En. 22.6; EpAp 13; EvBarth 4.28; BoRe 12b. Michael is always before God's face (ApPa 43).

[2]Rev. 12.7.

[3]Asc. Isa. 3.16; Mysteries of St. John 7a (in Budge, op. cit., p. 64); Lueken, op. cit., pp. 32-43.

[4]Cf. Gabriel as intercessor in I En. 40.6 (cf. 40.9). Michael and Gabriel share the same tasks in HiJos 23 (Michael is named first). Cf. also the Assumption of Mary (Lat B, in Tischendorf, op. cit., pp. 124-36) 8(9).2. In the Martyrdom of Pilate (in Mingana, ed., op. cit., II, 265) Gabriel is called the "head of the angels"; he is also called the head of the angels in the Life of John the Baptist (Mingana, ed., op. cit., I, 239, 244-45); cf. also the Garshuni apocalypse in Mingana, ed., op. cit., III, 120, 130. See also Lueken, op. cit., pp. 32f.; Bonservin, Le Judaïsme palestinien au temps de Jésus-Christ, I, 233 n. 1, 235.

[5]Note the account of the annunciation in EpAp 14,

remained to assume the title of chief archangel, subject only to Christ. The tendency to exalt Gabriel was probably accentuated by the increasing interest in Christ's mother; Christians would have felt that only the highest archangel could have brought the message from God to Mary.

The apocrypha occasionally indicate that each individual has a personal guardian angel. Jews and Jewish Christians believed that each nation had an angel to govern it and in the Old Testament angels often appeared to individuals. In the New Testament angels sometimes protect individuals,[1] and the Shepherd of Hermas teaches that each person has a righteous angel

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where Christ appears in the form of Gabriel, although he is not considered identical with Gabriel (cf. also Sib. Or. VIII, 456ff.). In EvBarth 2.15ff. the angel of the annunciation is apparently God himself. A discourse attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, 12a (in E. A. W. Budge, Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt [London, 1915], pp. 49-73), records an opinion that Michael took the form of Mary and bore Christ. On this cf. V. Burch, "The Gospel according to the Hebrews: Some New Matter Chiefly from Coptic Sources," JTS 21 (1920), 310-15, and M. R. James, "Notes on Mr. Burch's Article 'The Gospel according to the Hebrews,'" JTS 22 (1921), 160f.

[1]Cf. Mark 1.13 (Matt. 4.11); Matt. 18.10; 26.53; Acts 5.19; 12.7ff.

and an evil angel.[1] Most of the apocryphal Acts know nothing of angels that remain continually with men,[2] and in them angels rarely appear in order to protect men from danger.[3] Some apocrypha teach that exposed infants and those killed by abortion are appointed a heavenly angel to teach them as they grow up.[4] The idea of personal guardian angels finally appears in the

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[1]Hermas, Mand. 6.2.1ff. This could be a personalising of the Jewish teaching about the yetzer ha-ra and the yetzer ha-tob; it could also be related to Qumran ideas about the spirits of darkness and light which work in men.

[2]But cf. AAnMatt 17.

[3]Cf. AAn (Greg) 9, 18, 23.

[4]ApPe (Gk) does not mention this, but ApPe (Eth) 8, p. 515, teaches that children killed by their parents are delivered to the angel Temlakos. Clement of Alexandria (Eclogae propheticae 41.1) mentions a care-taking (τημελοῦχος) angel that takes care of children who have been exposed, and he notes (op. cit., 48.1) that the idea comes from ApPe. Methodius, Symposium 2.6, reflects the same idea and says that it is taught in the inspired writings. Cf. also the Apocalypse of the Virgin (Eth), in ApocNT, p. 564.

Temeluchus is called the keeper of Hell in ApPa (Gk) 16 and in ApPa (Copt) 18, but that is probably a mistake for Tartaruchus. For Tartaruchus cf. Hippolytus, Elench. 10.34. For a discussion of Tartaruchus and Temeluchus cf. James, "A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter," JTS 12 (1911), 369-71. Cf. also the function of Uriel in I En. 20.2.

Apocalypse of Paul.[1] Although Judaism assigned angels to nations rather than to individuals, some Jewish writings reflect the beginnings of a doctrine of personal guardian angels.[2] Judaism assigned to Metatron the function of educating children who had died prematurely.[3]

The Apocalypse of Paul teaches that the guardian angels each night tell God all the deeds of men.[4] It records that both good and evil angels crowd around people who die; the evil angels want to see whether the soul carries any of their property while the good angels seek a place in the soul.[5] It states that guardian angels also write the deeds of each man in books which

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[1]ApPa 7: every man has an angel to guard and protect him, because man is the image of God.

[2]Cf. Jub 35.17; Vita Adae 33.1; Str-B I, 781-83; III, 437-39.

[3]B. Abodah Zarah 3b; III En. 48.12c.

[4]ApPa 7ff., 14, 16.

[5]ApPa 15f.; cf. also Abdias 5.17, "Vidi angelos vestros flentes et Satanae angelos in vestra dejectione gratulantes." The idea in ApPa may have come from ideas such as that in Sifre Zuta on Numbers (TR 269); cf. B. Ketuboth 104a.

can be produced at judgement day.[1] All of this is probably based upon Jewish ideas that angels reported the deeds of men to God.[2] Christians further developed these ideas because they believed that Satan was no longer able to accuse men before God.[3] Consequently the angels had to take over that function. But Christians felt that angels, unlike Satan, were anxious for men to obey God and that they continued to work for all men, including wicked men.[4] The idea of personal guardian

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[1]ApPa 17. [2]I En. 98.6 to 99.3; cf. II En. 19.5.

[3]In the OT Satan is an accuser, but he is neither good nor evil (Job 1.6; Zech. 3.1ff.). Jewish thought later emphasized the evil aspects of his character, but he did not lose his access to God's throne (cf. Jub 48.15; I En. 40.7; B. Baba Bathra 15b; Exod. R. 18.5 on Exod. 12.29). Christians pictured Satan as cast out of heaven and bound; cf. Matt. 12.28f.; Luke 10.18; John 12.31; Rev. 12.7-10; note also Desc. (Gk) 6.2. They felt that where Satan formerly stood as accuser, Christ stands as intercessor (Rom. 8.33f.).

The idea that Satan no longer has access to God is a trait distinctively Christian; the absence of any mention of evil powers in heaven is sometimes an indication of Christian authorship of a work (e.g. Asc. Isa.; cf. Bietenhard, Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum, pp. 214-21). Daniélou, Théologie du judéo-christianisme, p. 149, said that refs. to Satan's being cast out of heaven should be understood in an eschatological sense, that the event is not to take place until the last day. But the NT writers probably felt that they lived in the last day.

[4]ApPa 10, 16.

angels was later subject to a number of modifications.[1]

Another function of angels in Christian and Jewish belief was to control the elements of nature. In the apocrypha angels control the wind, fire, dew, rain, snow, the sea, etc.[2] Similar ideas existed in Judaism and probably within Jewish Christianity.[3] Presumably Jewish Christians brought these ideas into Christianity from the beginning.

Demons, Satan, and Fallen Angels.[4] The ancients

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[1]The Garshuni apocalypse (in Mingana, ed., op. cit., III, 134) teaches that each person has two guardian angels, one on his right hand and one on his left; he receives these at baptism.

[2]EvBarth 4.31, 45; cf. the Mysteries of St. John 2b-9b, 15ab (in Budge, Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt, pp. 60-66, 70).

[3]I En. 60.16-21; Jub 2.2; II En. 19.4; cf. Rev. 7.1; 14.18. Note also the "angel of the sun" in Asc. Isa. 4.18. Rabbinic literature associates angels with aspects of the weather; cf. B. Taanith 25b; Str-B III, 818-20; Lueken, op. cit., pp. 52-56.

[4]For Jewish views of devils cf. Bousset-Gressmann, Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter, pp. 331-42; Str-B IV, 501-35; Bonservin, op. cit., I, 241-46.

For Christian views cf. F. C. Conybeare, "The Demonology of the New Testament," JQR 8 (1896), 576-608; idem, "Christian Demonology," JQR 9 (1897), 59-114, 444-70, 581-603. For a treatment of the development of demonology cf. E. Langton, Essentials of Demonology (London, 1949).

made no clear distinction between benevolent and malevolent spirits. Spirits, like the forces of nature, appeared capricious, sometimes good, sometimes bad. The Jewish and Christian view that angels controlled the elements of nature reflects this earlier attitude. As the beliefs in angels developed, a distinction between good and evil angels arose; the latter were generally considered devils. But differences of opinion with respect to the nature and function of devils was inevitable. The Jews felt that Satan had constant access to God and that he served as man's accuser before God. Consequently the Jews tended to feel that Satan was evil only in that he was the adversary of men; they apparently felt that he was always subordinate to God and presumably obedient to him.

But in Christian thought Satan is considered wholly evil, a being as opposed to God as he is to man. This view is reflected in the New Testament as well as in the apocrypha. The apocrypha vary in their understanding of the details of Satan's functions and power. In the Descent into Hell Satan, the prince of death, is distinguished from Hell, the name of the prince of the

underworld.[1] Satan is considered the adversary of Christ, and it is his ministers who cause the disease and evil in the world.[2] The work teaches that Satan stirred up the Jews against Jesus[3] and that Hell has demons of his own who live in the underworld.[4] It thus appears that some Christians believed in two princes of evil; they felt that Satan, with his demons, worked on earth and caused sin and disease while Hell, with his own demons, kept the underworld.[5] It is possible that they considered Hell to be the personification of a place who was himself neither good nor bad;[6] his desire

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[1]Desc. 4 (Lat A, Gk). Cf. Rev. 6.8; 20.14; note also Fabricius, Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti, I, 279 n. At Desc. 4.2 (Lat A) two Mss. read "Respondens autem Satan princeps tartari," but the other inserts "ad" before "princeps tartari" and probably represents the original more accurately.

[2]Desc. 4.1 (Lat A, Gk).

[3]Desc. 4.2 (Lat A, Gk); Desc. 3.2 (Lat B).

[4]Desc. 5.1, τοῖς δαίμοσιν αὐτοῦ (Gk), "ad sua impia officia" (Lat A).

[5]Cf. also the distinction between Beliar and Tartarus in EvBarth 1.11, 14. In Desc. the demons in the underworld do not inflict punishment upon the dead; they simply live there.

[6]Cf. Desc. 7 (Lat A, Gk); note also EvBarth 1.20, where Christ binds only one enemy even though both Satan and Hell are personified.

for souls and his need to inflict punishment resulted from nature rather than from perversity.[1] The Latin version of the Descent into Hell presents three distinct beings: Satan, Hell, and Death.[2] Death is occasionally personified elsewhere.[3]

The idea that Christ descended into Hell existed early among Christians, including Jewish Christians.[4] The assertion of his descent may not have been incorporated into the Creed until the sixth century,[5] but the idea must have had widespread acceptance long before that. A number of apocrypha mention Christ's descent,[6] and the idea appears often in other early Christian writings.[7] The earlier presentations make no mention of

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[1]But Satan is regarded as truly perverse; cf. Hell's address to Satan in Desc. 7 (Lat A, Gk).

[2]Desc. 6.1f. (Lat A).

[3]Cf. EvBarth 1.16f. (Gk); OrWor 154.23f.; Hidos (Sahadic) 23. Cf. also BoRe 1a-5a; Jesus breaks into Amente, chains up Melkhir (=Satan?) and his ministers, but allows Death and his sons to remain on earth.

[4]Cf. Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 257-73.

[5]Altaner, Patrology, p. 49.

[6]Desc.; EvBarth 1.9-20; BoRe 3b; EpAp 27.

[7]For discussion and refs. cf. J. A. MacCulloch,

a battle between Christ and the Devil; they explain the descent as for the purpose of announcing the good news to those in Hell.[1] It is possible that two originally-separate ideas later became fused: the idea that Christ brought salvation to the dead and the idea that Christ overcame the evil spirits.[2] A fusion of these two concepts could lead to a view that Christ battled Satan in Hell. Other apocrypha referring to Jesus' descent into Hell are probably based upon something like what is in Descent into Hell.

To Jews, and probably to Jewish Christians, Satan's abode was on earth or in heaven; Sheol was simply the place of the dead. Consequently Jewish Christians probably felt that Hell, although fearful,

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The Harrowing of Hell (Edinburgh, 1930); W. Bieder, Die Vorstellung von der Höllenfahrt Jesu Christi (Zürich, 1949); Selwyn, The First Epistle of Peter, pp. 314-62; Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 257-73.

[1]Cf. EvPe 42; I Pet. 3.18ff.; MacCulloch, op. cit., pp. 240-52. But both ideas may be early; cf. Selwyn, op. cit., p. 341.

[2]Daniélou, op. cit., p. 258. Compare the account in Desc. with that of Asc. Isa.: Beliar sets himself up as a great king on earth (4.2), but Jesus comes to earth with his angels and drags him into Gehenna (4.14), then Jesus gives rest to the godly (4.15). The story is the same as that in Desc.; only the locale is different.

was morally neither good nor evil. The apparent moral neutrality of Hell in Descent into Hell may have resulted from Jewish-Christian influence in this respect.[1] Even when Death is personified he is not always considered necessarily evil.[2]

The early connexion between Satan, demons, and human sickness led naturally to the assumption that Satan was responsible for all death; this idea could have led in turn to the belief that Hell, the place of death, was Satan's dwelling-place. The connexion between sin and death had been already established by the story of the fall,[3] eventually Satan was identified with the serpent that caused the fall.[4] In Judaism

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[1]For a Jewish personification of Hell see III Baruch 4.4-6; cf. Clem. Hom. 10.11.

[2]HiJos 23.5ff. (Sahidic) seems to present Death simply as the being appointed to separate souls from bodies; since Death cannot work when Christ is present, Christ coöperates by absenting himself until Death is finished. The same idea is reflected in the story of Mary's assumption attributed to Euodius, 12.4 (in Robinson, Coptic Apocryphal Gospels, p. 59). In Asc. Isa. 10.8-14 the "Angel in Sheol" (=angel of death) is not at enmity with God. But some Jewish literature identifies Sammael with the angel of death (cf. Deut. R. 11.10).

[3]Gen. 2.17.

[4]ApMos 16 (note the textual variants);

death was considered the natural effect of evil, but it was not necessarily evil in itself.[1] Also in the apocryphal Acts death is often not evil; it is a liberation from the cares of the body and of the world.[2] Similar ideas were common in Hellenistic thought, and this was the most common view among Gnostics.[3]

The apocrypha use a number of different names for Satan. שָׂטָן occurs in the Old Testament as an "adversary" and in Jewish literature there can even be a number of satans.[4] But Satan is generally considered the adversary par excellence, the chief ruler of all the

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Rev. 12.9. Cf. Wisdom 2.24; III Baruch 9.7; II En. 31.6; Apocalypse of Abraham 23.

[1] I En. 69.11 considers death a destroyer, but all the moral onus is upon man and the evil angels (cf. I En. 69.3-11; 98.4). For Jewish views on the angel of death, cf. B. Sanhedrin 106b; B. Baba Kamma 60a; A. P. Bender, "Beliefs, Rites, and Customs of the Jews Connected with Death, Burial, and Mourning," JQR 6 (1894), 322-47; Str-B I, 144-49.

[2] AJn 64; MPa 4; MAn 14 (in Aa II.1, 55); ATho 129.

[3] But some Gnostics did not think of death as a boon. Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, p. 182, cited a Gnostic Revelation of Adam in which Adam tells with regret, "I knew that I had passed into the power of death."

[4] I En. 40.7; Deut. R. 11.10.

spirits opposed to man.[1] In the New Testament he is referred to as Satan, the Devil, the serpent,[2] or as βεεζεβούλ, "the prince of demons."[3] The name Beliar occurs only once in the New Testament,[4] but it is often in the Old Testament[5] and in Jewish apocrypha.[6] The reasons for the distinction between Satan and Death and for the personification of Hell are not immediately evident. The Old Testament at one point puts בל'על into a position parallel to Death and Sheol;[7] this could have led to a possible use of either term as a personal name. Psalm 18.5 couples Hell and Death, so if either term were personified the other would also tend to become personified.[8] There are a few other indications

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[1] I En. 53.3; 54.6.

[2] Rev. 12.9; 20.2.

[3] Mark 3.22, par.

[4] II Cor. 6.15.

[5] Probably not as a proper name, however. Cf. e.g. Judges 19.22; 20.13; I Sam. 1.16; 2.12; 10.27; 25.17, 25; 30.22; II Sam. 16.7; 20.1; 23.6; I Kings 21.10, 13; II Chron. 13.7.

[6] Jub 1.20. Cf. also Asc. Isa. 2.4; 3.11; 4.2; T. Simeon 5.3; T. Levi 3.3; T. Issachar 7.7; T. Benjamin 3.3, 4; 7.1f.; T. Asher 3.2. The name Beliar occurs often in the Qumran writings; cf. Dam. Doc. 4.13, 15; 5.18; 8.2.

[7] Ps. 18.4f.

[8] Ps. 18.5, "The cords of Sheol entangled me, the

that Hell was at one time personified.[1]

The names Melchir and Mastema occur rarely in the apocrypha, but both of them may have been used by Jewish Christians.[2] The idea that the Devil is the serpent came ultimately from the Genesis account of the fall, but it is also related to Gnostic ideas.[3] The idea is possibly reflected in some of the apocryphal Acts,[4] although the references are not always definite and may be capable of other interpretations. The apocryphal notion of a cosmic serpent is closer to Gnostic than to

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snares of death confronted me."

[1]B. Erubin 19a gives 7 names of Gehenna, among which are Abaddon and Sheol. These could easily have been turned into proper names for underworld powers. Coptic always treats ⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ as a proper name and never gives it an article; cf. W. C. Till, Koptische Grammatik (Leipzig, 1955), p. 61.

[2]In APh 13 Satan is called Μαναστημάτ. This is probably a variant form for the Jewish Mastema; cf. Jub 10.8; 11.5, 11. Melchir occurs in Asc. Isa. 1.8, BoRe 3b, and in a Copt version of EvBarth; cf. E. Revillout, Les apocryphes coptes (Paris, 1904-13), I, 185.

[3]Cf. Hippolytus, Elench. 5.6, 7, 19.

[4]AAn (Gk 808) 8 refers to Aegeates' father as the serpent and as the devil. ATho 32 refers to a cosmic serpent whose son tempted Eve, provoked Israel to idolatry, and inhabits Tartarus. Cf. also Philip's preaching against the serpent in APh 130 (note especially Bonnet's third text, in Aa II.2, 59f.).

Jewish thought. The rabbis generally considered the serpent simply an animal that was jealous of Adam.[1] They did not identify the serpent with Satan.[2]

In the apocrypha demons are sometimes presented as associated with water or with idols; they are often described as black and as driven by sexual desires. A number of the apocryphal Acts consider idols the dwelling-place of demons.[3] This idea probably came from Judaism[4] and it was apparently commonly held among Christians.[5] The apocryphal Acts also portray demons as black.[6] Although Jewish apocrypha contain no direct

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[1]B. Sotah 9b; Tos. Sotah 4.17 (TR 1487); Gen. R. 18 on Gen. 2.25; Gen. R. 19 on Gen. 3.1.

[2]Note also that in Clem. Hom. 10.10f. the serpent is considered a personal tempter that resides in each person; but he is still not identified with Satan.

[3]AJn 41-43; ATho 77; APh 20, 27; Abdias 6.22; 8.1, 6f. (cf. Aa II.1, 129, 141ff.); 9.15. Cf. also the Garshuni apocalypse in Mingana, ed., Woodbrooke Studies, III, 397-400; Clem. Hom. 9.15; Clem. Rec. 4.19.

[4]Note the refs. to sacrificing to demons in Deut. 32.17; Ps. 106.37; cf. Ps. 96.5 (LXX). See also I En. 99.7; Jub 1.11; 22.17.

[5]Cf. Rev. 9.20; Tertullian, Apol. 22; Tatian, Oratio 8f.; Const. Ap. 7.21; Irenaeus, Haer. 4.24.2.

[6]AAn (Greg) 22; ATho 55, 64; Abdias 6.22; 8.7 (=Aa II.1, 146); the Syriac Act of Philip in Wright,

parallels to this idea, some of the ideas in the Old Testament may have led in this direction. In the Old Testament certain afflictions, such as sickness, or even fear of an invader, brought black skin,[1] as did thirst and starvation.[2] Apparently a black body was considered a punishment or curse for sin.[3] The conclusion that demons are black does not follow inevitably from these ideas; but by associating black skin with evil or with a curse for evil the Old Testament laid a foundation for this conclusion. A number of ideas in many societies could also have contributed to the idea.[4] A contrast

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Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, II, 69-92 (cf. ApocNT, p. 451). Cf. also ApPa 39, where people in Hell are dressed in black, and ApPe (Gk) 21, which refers to the angels in Hell as dark. Cf. also APe 8, 22, and the apocrypha cited in Apk. Apg. I, 619f. and II.2, 38. Barnabas 4.10 refers to the Devil as black. In AThe 31 (Syriac) an evil serpent is black; cf. also the black dragon in APh 102f. Pistis Sophia 140 states that the demons are ruled by Ariûth the Ethiopian, a female archon that is wholly black.

[1]Job 30.30. In Joel 2.6 and Nahum 2.10 פָּארוּר may mean blackness (cf. the Authorised Version), but the meaning is uncertain.

[2]Lamentations 5.10.

[3]Lam. 4.6-8; I En. 62.10. Note also in Jer. 13.23 a parallel implying that Ethiopians are naturally evil; cf. Amos 9.7.

[4]P. A. Recheis, Engel, Tod und Seelenreise (Rome,

between light and darkness, such as is found in the Qumran writings and in the New Testament, may also have contributed: angels were thought to appear white;[1] the representatives of the prince of darkness would presumably be black.[2] The idea that demons are unclean spirits[3] may also have led to the conclusion that they are black.

In the apocrypha demons are usually found near water, especially at the baths.[4] Jews believed that

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1958), p. 131. The idea that demons usually appeared at night may be related (Str-B IV, 519) as may the fact that they were sometimes found in shadows (Str-B IV, 518f.). Cf. also the relation between a demon and a black cat (B. Berakoth 6a).

[1]II Cor. 11.14; I En. 87.2.

[2]Cf. II En. 7.2. For the angel of light and the angel of darkness at Qumran cf. the Manual of Discipline 3.13 to 4.26.

[3]Matt. 12.43 (Luke 11.24); Mark 1.23 (Luke 4.33), 26, 27 (Luke 4.36); 3.11, 30; 5.2, 8 (Luke 8.29), 13; 6.7 (Matt. 10.1); 7.25; Luke 9.42; Acts 5.16; 8.7; Rev. 16.13f. The usage is Jewish; cf. T. Benjamin 5.3; Jub 10.1; B. Sanhedrin 65b; B. Niddah 17a; Sifre on Deut. 18.12 (FR 318); Str-B IV, 503f.

[4]AAn (Greg) 5, 23, 27; ATho 43, 64. Cf. also the Garshuni apocalypse in Mingana, ed., op. cit., III, 113; also the Armenian Acts of Bartholomew cited in Apk. Apg. II.2, 93. EvPh 65 notes that "[the] enemy [comes] from water [and] fire."

demons lived in water,[1] and the idea probably carried into Jewish Christianity.[2] One can only guess how the connexion between demons and water may have originated. The necessity to purify water could have suggested the presence of demons. Or perhaps the idea that Paradise was in the east contributed to the idea; the inference that Hell was in the west, i.e. the sea, followed naturally. If demons were thought to be located in the underworld, springs and deep rivers would afford entrances and exits to and from their domain.[3] In any case the association between demons and water existed within Judaism and was probably found in Jewish Christianity as well as among the writers of the apocrypha.[4]

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[1] B. Kiddushin 39b (a bathhouse); B. Berakoth 60a; Lev. R. 24.3 on Lev. 19.2; Str-B IV, 517f. Cf. also B. Kiddushin 81a.

[2] Cf. T. Asher 7.3 and the discussion in Daniélou, Théologie du judéo-christianisme, p. 248. Cf. also Ignatius, Eph. 18.2; Aristides, Apol. 2 (Syriac).

[3] Hot springs were thought to be heated by the fires of Gehenna (B. Sanhedrin 108a; cf. I En. 67.8ff.). But in Jewish thought demons were generally located on the earth's surface or in the air; cf. Str-B IV, 515-19.

[4] The ultimate background to the idea probably lies in Semitic beliefs connecting subterranean gods

The Acts of Thomas particularly stresses the sexual desires of demons.[1] The idea that demons have strong sexual impulses probably derived from Jewish thought. The story that angels had had sexual relations with women was common in Judaism[2] as well as among Christians.[3] The children born of that union were thought to be demons.[4] Some Jews taught that demons had sexual relations with Adam and Eve in their sleep,[5] and Jewish works contain other hints of sexual prowess of demons.[6] Gnostics later developed this idea

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with springs, wells, and rivers; cf. Reymond, L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'Ancien Testament, pp. 208-12.

[1]ATho 43, 64; cf. also ATho 31; Clem. Hom. 9.10.

[2]I En. 6f.; cf. T. Reuben 5.6f.; Josephus, Antt. 1.3.1; Philo, De gig. 2.6. Cf. Charles, The Book of Enoch, pp. 62f. For a discussion of the interpretation of Gen. 6.1-4 cf. G. E. Closen, Die Sünde der "Söhne Gottes" (Rome, 1937).

[3]Jude 6; II Pet. 2.4; Justin, II Apol. 5; ATho 32; AAnMatt 20.

[4]I En. 15.3, 8f.; 16.1; Jub 10.1-5; Str-B IV, 505f.; Justin, II Apol. 5; Clem. Hom. 8.15-20.

[5]Gen. R. 20 on Gen. 3.20; Gen. R. 24 on Gen. 5.1; cf. B. Erubin 18b; Str-B IV, 507. This may also be reflected in EvPh 61.

[6]Tobit 6.14. Demons eat, drink, and propagate

further.[1]

The New Testament teaches that demons are subject to the commands of Christians,[2] and the ability of Christians to control the demons also plays a large part in the apocrypha.[3] The apocrypha also indicate that Christians are specially protected from the attacks of demons.[4] These beliefs were common among Christians,[5] and the writers of the apocrypha reflect no particular Jewish-Christian influence at this point. But the Christian beliefs were foreshadowed by Jewish conceptions concerning the power of the law or of the divine

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like men (B. Hagigah 16a). Note that the satyr was considered a demon; cf. Sifre on Deut. 32.2 (TR 345).

[1]Cf. Gnostic traditions about the rape of Eve by the archons, above, p. 214 n. 5.

[2]Note especially Luke 10.17, 20. Cf. Langton, Essentials of Demonology, pp. 163f.

[3]AAn (Greg) 27; EvBarth 4.15ff.; APe 6; Clem. Rec. 4.17; Clem. Hom. 9.21f. Other healings and exorcisms occur frequently in the apocryphal Acts. Occasionally the demons must show themselves openly at the command of an apostle; cf. APe 11; ATho 44f., 74; AAn (Greg) 6.

[4]AAnMatt 27; MMatt 14; cf. AAn (Greg) 27; Abdias 6.21.

[5]Cf. Justin, Dial. 30; Tertullian, Apol. 23.4-8; Origen, C. Cels. 1.6.

name.[1] Sometimes Jews regarded the law or the name so powerful that through them a person could gain control over the demons; Jewish Christians who saw in Christ the name and Torah of God[2] consequently felt that allegiance to Christ gave the Christian power over the demons.

But Christians believed that although they could exorcise demons they could not banish them from the earth. They felt that until the final judgement comes demons can only be sent to some lonely place to live; they cannot be destroyed until the last day. This concept is clearly represented in the New Testament[3] and occurs also in the apocryphal Acts.[4] The idea came ultimately from Judaism[5] and it was common among

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[1]Cf. Dam. Doc. 16.4, "On the day that a man imposes upon himself by oath to return to the Law of Moses the angel of Mastema will depart from behind him." See also Str-B IV, 527; Clem. Hom. 8.19; 9.22.

[2]See above, p. 73 n. 1.

[3]Matt. 8.29-31. Cf. EpAp 5; Mark 5.10; Luke 8.31.

[4]AAn (Greg) 6. Demons complain, not because they are being destroyed, but because they are being turned out of their dwellings; cf. ATho 33, 46, 75.

[5]I En. 16.1; 55.4; Jub 10.6-11; Ass. Mos. 10.1; Str-B IV, 527. The idea may be related to the view that demons originated in the union between angels and women;

Christians.[1]

The apocrypha indicate that demons--who, it was assumed, caused all sickness[2]--were subject to Solomon and had to obey him.[3] Solomon's power over the demons was well known in Judaism[4] and methods of exorcism attributed to him were probably widespread.[5] Solomon's power over the demons is reflected in the Jewish-

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even the flood could not destroy them. Cf. I En. 15.3, 8f.; Jub 10.1ff.; Clem. Hom. 8.13-18; Athenagoras, Legatio 24f.; Justin, II Apol. 5.

[1]Tatian, Oratio 12; Justin, I Apol. 28; Asc. Isa. 7.12.

[2]Jub 10.10, 12f.; Str-B IV, 524-26; ATho 12; Origen, C. Cels. 8.58; Langton, op. cit., pp. 22, 82, 150f.

[3]Cf. the Mysteries of St. John 13b-14b (in Budge, Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt, p. 69); EvBarth 4.21; the Obsequies of the Virgin (in Wright, Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament, p. 43).

[4]Josephus, Antt. 8.2.5; B. Gittin 68a; Str-B IV, 533-35.

[5]C. C. McCown, The Testament of Solomon (Leipzig, 1922), pp. 90ff.; Schürer, A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, II.3, 150-55. The rabbis probably disapproved of such methods, since they taught that the sages approved when Hezekiah hid the book of healings. Cf. B. Pesahim 56a (in some texts at M. Pesahim 4.9); McCown, op. cit., pp. 96-100.

Christian Testament of Solomon,[1] and Gnostics also knew of that power.[2] In modern Palestine one can still hear stories illustrating Solomon's hold over the demons.[3] It is possible that Jewish Christians brought these traditions from Judaism into Christianity and thus indirectly affected both Gnosticism and the writers of the apocrypha. But it is also possible that the reputation of Jewish exorcists throughout the Hellenistic world caused the story of Solomon's power to become widespread.

The origin of the Devil is not discussed in many of the apocrypha. The Gospel of Bartholomew tells that the first-created of the angels, Satanael, refused to worship the newly-created Adam and was consequently expelled from heaven.[4] This view is also reflected in the Jewish Vita Adae, which states that Satan was

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[1]Cf. Altaner, Patrology, p. 64; McCown, op. cit.

[2]Cf. Origen, In Matt. 26.63; OrWor 155.2f.; Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, pp. 170, 172, 203n., 278n.

[3]Cf. L. Farmer, We Saw the Holy City (London, 1953), p. 103.

[4]EvBarth 4.25-29, 53-55.

expelled from heaven because he would not worship Adam;[1] but no Jewish writers ever thought that Satan had once been the highest archangel.[2] Many Jews regarded the fall of the Devil as connected with the union between the sons of God and the daughters of men.[3] Later Christians and Jews identified Satan with the serpent who tempted Eve in the garden.[4] Finally both Christians and Jews developed the idea of a pre-mundane angelic rebellion against God.[5] It is doubtful that the

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[1] Vita Adae 12-16. This book dates probably from somewhere within the first three centuries A.D. (cf. L. S. A. Wells in Ap & Ps II, 127).

[2] Vita Adae 14.2 implies that Satan had been the second highest after Michael. Satan is one of the archangels in II En. 29.4f. and is a fallen angel in III Baruch 4.8.

[3] II Baruch 56.10-12; I En. 9.6; 10.4ff.; II En. 18.1ff. I En. 54.6 states that Azazel became subject to Satan when he led the Watchers in their sin; but this may mean simply that Satan, as accuser, could now accuse Azazel before God.

[4] See above, p. 249 n. 4; cf. I En. 69.6; Justin, Dial. 100, 124. IV Maccabees 18.8 refers to the serpent as the author of sexual impurity, but not as Satan. The rabbis considered the serpent simply an animal that had been jealous of Adam; cf. above, p. 253.

[5] Cf. Lactantius, Div. inst. 2.8.4-7; Origen, De princ. 1. pref. 6. See also Irenaeus, Dem. 16. The various versions of Vita Adae and II En. 29.4f. contain this view; cf. also III Baruch 4.8. Note that none of these works is pre-Christian in origin.

conception of Satan as an angel who rebelled against God ever existed in pre-Christian thought. Yet it is unlikely that Christian and Jewish speculation on the origin of Satan came independently to the same results. Some intercourse between Jews and Christians on the subject must be assumed; in this it is probable that Jewish Christians played some part.[1]

But some Jewish Christians apparently objected to the idea that Satan had ever rebelled against God.[2] They said that no one knows how the Devil originated.[3] Others may have felt that the evil powers had existed from the creation.[4] Rabbinic opinion tended to retain the view that Satan was a being subject to God who accused men before God whenever they did evil.[5]

Angels of Vengeance. The apocrypha often mention

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[1]Cf. also Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 146f.

[2]Cf. Clem. Hom. 19.6. [3]Clem. Hom. 19.3.

[4]Asc. Isa. 7.9-12. Note the Jewish view that demons, created on the 6th day of creation, are souls for whom God made no bodies (the Sabbath interrupted his work); cf. Gen. R. 7 on Gen. 1.25; Sifre on Deut. 23.21 (TR 377); M. Aboth 5.7; Str-B IV, 506.

[5]As in Job 1.6-12; 2.1-8; Jub 10.8, 11; 17.16; I En. 40.7. Cf. Bietenhard, Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum, pp. 209-21.

angels of vengeance, angels whose function it is to administer God's punishment to those who disobey him. These are different from other angels--who usually work for the good of God and man--and from demons, whom the avenging angels often punish.[1] According to the apocrypha these angels have their place in heaven[2] but do their work on earth[3] or torment those in Hell.[4] Sometimes the avenging angels are identified with the other angels.[5] They punish Satan and his ministers,[6] using the elements of nature as the means of punishment.[7] In some apocrypha, on the other hand, it is Satan or devils who keep Hell and who are responsible

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[1]Cf. Bonservin, Le Judaïsme palestinien au temps de Jésus-Christ, I, 239f.

[2]EvBarth 1.23-27 (Lat and Slavonic); ApPe (Gk) 21, 25; ApPe (Eth) 7, p. 514.

[3]EvBarth 1.23-27; cf. Hermas, Sim. 6.3.

[4]EvBarth 4.12; ApPe (Gk) 21, 25; ApPe (Eth) 7-13, pp. 514-18; ApPa 16, 18, 34-36, 40; Martyrdom of Pilate, in Mingana, ed., Woodbrooke Studies, II, 247.

[5]Cf. EvBarth 4.28; ApPe (Eth) 6, p. 514 (Uriel); 9-11, pp. 515-17 (Ezrael); cf. also Sib. Or. 2.214ff.

[6]EvBarth 4.45.

[7]EvBarth 4.45; cf. also the sun, moon, and stars in ApPa 4-5.

for the punishment of sinners.[1] Sometimes angels deliver men to Hell but other beings inflict the pains of Hell upon sinners.[2]

The idea that God's angels inflict punishment upon men came from Judaism, probably coming into Christianity through Jewish Christians. Angels in Jewish or Jewish-Christian literature have charge of Hell,[3] inflict vengeance upon the world,[4] use the elements of nature for punishing,[5] and punish Satan and his ministers.[6] Jews thought of punishment both in this

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[1] EvBarth 4.25, 37-42; ApPe (Eth) 10, p. 516. Cf. also the Garshuni apocalypse (Mingana, ed., op. cit., III, 218f.), in which the demons are directly under God's control (ibid., p. 112). In a Jeremiah Apocryphon Satanael is presented as the angel of wrath rather than the prince of evil; cf. Mingana, ed., op. cit., I, 160f.

[2] ApPe (Eth) 6, p. 514 (Uriel); 9, p. 515 (Ezrael); Sib. Or. 2.285-90. Cf. Matt. 13.49f.

[3] I En. 20.2; cf. 62.11; 63.1; II En. 10.3. Cf. Sifre on Deut. 34.6 (TR 381).

[4] I En. 20.2, 4; 56.5f.; Dam. Doc. 2.6; cf. I En. 53.3-5.

[5] T. Levi 3.1-3; II En. 10.2; Sirach 39.28-31. Cf. Luke 9.52ff.; Rev. 15.18-20. It was common Jewish belief that angels controlled the elements of nature; cf. above, p. 244.

[6] T. Levi 3.3; cf. I En. 56.1-3.

age and in the age to come as punishment from God,[1] and the Old Testament teaches the existence of angels of destruction.[2] So the apocryphal presentation of angels who administer punishment may indicate Jewish-Christian influence, possibly indirect, upon the apocryphal writers. Gnostic views did not influence the idea that God's angels punish men, but the Jewish belief that God is the author of punishment may have contributed to the Gnostic view of the creator as inferior and evil.[3]

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[1]Sifre on Deut. 32.40 (TR 366); cf. I En. 54.7-10. Note also the Jewish view that Hell was located in one of the heavens; see Str-B IV, 1084; Bietenhard, op. cit., pp. 205-09.

[2]II Sam. 24.16; II Kings 19.35; I Chron. 21.15. Cf. also Rev. 9.11, 15; 16.1-20; cf. Str-B III, 581.

[3]Jews taught that God created the place of punishment before man ever sinned or had even been created; cf. B. Pesahim 54a; B. Nedarim 39b; the midrash on Ps. 90, in Str-B IV, 1084. R. Akiba taught that in this life God wanted his own people to suffer more than the sinners (Marmorstein, The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God, I, 185ff.); some Jews felt that it would have been better for man if he had not been created (B. Erubin 13b). These ideas could have led to a view that the fall of Adam had been intended by God (cf. Irenaeus, Haer. 3.20.1f.). A natural inference was that the God of the Jews was not benevolent. And when Jews began to consider Satan the ruler of the world (Asc. Isa. 2.4; Str-B II, 552; cf. II Cor. 4.4) an identification of Satan with the creator followed naturally; cf. Grant, Gnosticism and Early Christianity, pp. 56-61.

Jewish ideas concerning the structure of the

IV. THE HEAVENS AND THE JOURNEY OF THE SOUL

The New Testament apocrypha vary in their presentations of the structure of the universe. A number of them agree in placing Hell, or the abyss, somewhere in the west,[1] and most apocryphal writers probably thought that Hell is below the surface of the earth.[2] These ideas were common within Judaism as well

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universe could have contributed to this development. At first Hell had been considered the pit or the abyss, a place lower than the earth's surface (B. Erubin 19a; Str-B IV, 1087-90). But when Jews elevated the place of punishment into the heavens (II En. 7.1-3; 10.1-6; III Baruch 3f.; Str-B IV, 1083-85) and placed God in the highest of the heavens, earth became the one spot geographically farthest from God. Consequently the earth could be identified with what had been considered the lowest part of Sheol.

Once Jews reached such a conclusion their former ideas about the state of man in Sheol could have produced most of the Gnostic doctrines concerning God, the world, etc. The ambiguous Gnostic attitudes toward the creator (cf. Ptolemy, Epistle to Flora 7.1-5) could then have resulted from the ambiguity in Jewish attitudes toward the angel of wrath; some thought him a rebellious angel, while others felt that he worked under God's direct control.

[1] EvBarth 3.4-7; ApPa 31; Obsequies of the Virgin (Wright, op. cit., p. 47); Apocalypse of the Virgin (ApocNT, p. 563); Martyrdom of Pilate (Mingana, ed., op. cit., II, 247).

[2] EvBarth 1.13 (Slavonic; cf. Lat); 3.7; 4.40; Obsequies of the Virgin (Wright, loc. cit.); ApPa 41 (Gk; cf. Syriac); APh 24; EpAp 27. Desc. gives no

as in much of the ancient world.[1]

Few of the apocryphal writers reflect any developed speculation concerning the number of heavens in the universe. Some, possibly influenced by the New Testament,[2] assumed the existence of three heavens;[3]

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geographical indications of Hell's location, but the writer presumably thought of Hell as below the earth's surface (cf. Desc. d.1, ἐξ Ἅδου κατωτάτου).

[1]A belief that the departed spirits went into the underworld was widespread in antiquity; cf. the numerous legends mentioned in MacCulloch, The Harrowing of Hell, passim. The idea that Hell is in the west was also widespread; note the use of ΔΜΝΤΕ and its earlier Egyptian equivalents to designate Hell (cf. Crumm, A Coptic Dictionary, p. 8; Budge, op. cit., pp. lxif.). The idea that Paradise is in the east may also be related. Cf. also I En. 22 and the comment by Charles in Ap & Ps II, 202: "The writer places it [Sheol or Hades] in the far west, as the Babylonians, Greeks, and Egyptians did, and not in the underworld, as the Hebrews." Probably both ideas were often combined and the world of the dead was consequently thought to be the sea; cf. Reymond, L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'Ancien Testament, pp. 212-14.

[2]Cf. II Cor. 12.2.

[3]EvTho 11 mentions 2 heavens that will pass away, so it probably presupposes a 3rd that will not. Cf. ApPe (Eth) 11, p. 519, "The heaven opened and we beheld men in the flesh, and they came and greeted our Lord and Moses and Elias and went into another heaven." Only 2 heavens are mentioned, but one or more others are possibly presupposed. ApPa has 3 heavens with God in the 3rd heaven (cf. ApPa 3, 14-16). But the book is a mixture of earlier writings; it contains a second description of Paradise (ApPa 45ff.) and once mentions

others mention seven heavens.[1] Most of them tell nothing significant about what is contained in the various heavens, although one apocryphal writer hinted that God is beyond all seven of the heavens.[2] Early Jewish thought conceived of three heavens: the visible heaven, that of the fixed stars, and the dwelling-place of God.[3] This view carried into New Testament times and may be reflected in Paul's reference to the third heaven.[4] Some Gnostics also maintained a belief in

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7 heavens (ApPa 29). See also the Martyrdom of Pilate (Mingana, ed., op. cit., II, 276f.; but note the "seven doors," p. 277). The Garshuni apocalypse fuses the ideas of 3 and 7 heavens; cf. Mingana, ed., op. cit., III, 108.

[1] EvBarth 2.12; ApPa 29; BoRe 7ab, 22a. Cf. also the Copt fragment in Revillout, Les apocryphes coptes, I, 148, where Peter sees 7 heavens open.

[2] EvBarth 2.13 (cf. 2.12), where Mary says to Christ, ὃν οἱ ἑπτὰ οὐρανοὶ μόλις χωροῦσιν. Cf. also the refs. to the Ogdoad, below, p. 273 n. 2.

[3] Bietenhard, op. cit., p. 11, connected the idea of 3 heavens with the expression "heaven of heavens" (cf. e.g. I En. 71.5). He found the idea in the OT and stated that Deut. 10.14 implies a distinction between 2 heavens while I Kings 8.27 refers to 3 heavens. T. Levi 2f. originally referred to 3 heavens; cf. Charles, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, p. 27.

[4] II Cor. 12.2. Bietenhard, op. cit., pp. 162-67, argued that Paul believed in 7 heavens, basing the argument upon the assumption that Paul's conception was

three heavens.[1] The Ebionites believed in only two heavens, the visible and the invisible,[2] as did some Jews.[3] This belief may reflect a simpler and more primitive understanding of the universe, but it could also have resulted from a Platonic distinction between the real and ideal worlds.

Many Gnostics, Jews, and Christians accepted the idea of seven heavens.[4] This idea was accepted without

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related to that found in II En.; cf. also Charles, The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, p. xl. But Paul's ref. is too indefinite to warrant definite conclusions; it remains conceivable that he thought Paradise to be located in the highest heaven of a 3 heaven universe.

[1]Cf. the 3 worlds of the Valentinians: this universe, the intermediate realm, and the realm of the Father (Sagnard, La gnose valentinienne et le témoignage de saint Irénée, p. 569). OrWor 158.3f. puts Paradise "outside the circle of the moon and the sun," which could mean in the 3rd heaven. But the ref. to 12 gods of the chaos (OrWor 152.25) may imply 7 heavens and 5 underworlds; cf. ApJn 41.12-15.

[2]Clem. Rec. 3.26-28; cf. 1.27.

[3]B. Hagigah 12b. Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums, p. 312, wrote that a conception of 2 heavens lies behind Isa. 34.4 and Rev. 6.14; the first heaven would be rolled back like a scroll and the second one revealed.

[4]B. Hagigah 12b; ApMos 35; I En. 3-20; III En. 18.1f.; T. Levi 3; Asc. Isa. 9.1; ApJn 41.12-14; Irenaeus, Haer. 1.5.2 (Valentinians); 1.30.4f. (Ophites; cf. Origen, C. Cels. 6.31; Epiphanius, Pan. 26.10); cf.

comment by a number of the writers of the apocrypha, presumably because it was the prevailing conception of the day.[1] The presence of seven heavens in Gnostic systems probably resulted for the same reason.[2] It is possible that ideas of five[3] or ten[4] heavens also

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also Apocalypse of Abraham 19 (the mention of an 8th heaven is out of place, possibly a Christian modification). Daniélou, Théologie du judéo-christianisme, p. 132, considered the belief in 7 heavens "un trait caractéristique du judéo-christianisme syriaque." The idea probably developed ultimately from Babylonian conceptions; cf. Bietenhard, op. cit., p. 12.

[1]Cf. Charles, The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, pp. xxx-xlvii.

[2]There is no necessary reason for the existence of 7 heavens in Gnostic systems; their theology could have been served as well by a simpler cosmology. Note that Basilides' system had hundreds of heavens (Irenaeus, Haer. 1.24.3).

[3]III Baruch mentions only 5 heavens, but the writer may have presupposed more beyond these. A view of 5 heavens may also be reflected in EpAp 13. Cf. also the Apocalypse of Zephaniah cited by Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 5.11.77. The astronomers of the day knew of 5 planets. Even systems with a larger number of heavens gave the lower 5 a special significance; in Asc. Isa. 8.7 and 10.17-31 the lower 5 heavens are different from the upper two. Note also the 5 divisions of ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ in ApJn 41.14f.

[4]II En. 22.1; Num. R. 14.12 on Num. 7.78. Marcus believed in 8 heavens besides the sun and the moon (Irenaeus, Haer. 1.17.1). In EpAp 13 four angels accompany Christ to the 5th heaven. If each lived in a separate heaven these, together with a heaven for God's throne, would total 10.

affected the writers of some apocrypha; but definite indications are lacking. And in any book statements about the number of heavens were liable to be altered by later readers.[1]

The prevailing idea of seven heavens was possibly related to the number of days in a week. Christian thought, in emphasizing the superiority of Sunday over the Sabbath[2] tended to place God in the eighth place above the seven heavens.[3] The strong emphasis upon the superiority of Sunday over the Sabbath probably

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[1]Cf. T. Levi 2f., which originally had 3 heavens but now has seven (cf. Charles, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, p. 27). Apocalypse of Abraham 19-21 mentions 7 heavens but describes only 3; II En. has 7 heavens, but an interpolation at II En. 22.1 brings the number up to ten. III En. 48.1 (A) inserts a mention of 955 heavens.

[2]Cf. Barnabas 15.8; Justin, Dial. 24, 41; Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 6.16.138; cf. also II En. 32.2 to 33.2.

[3]In EpAp 17 Christ says, "I have been (become?) in the eighth [place] which is the Lord's day" (ⲁⲉⲓϩⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲛ̄ [ⲡⲙⲁ]ϩⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲧⲉ); this parallels the number of heavens with the days of the week (cf. Schmidt, Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung, pp. 275ff.). Gnostic works made similar parallels; cf. ApJn 42.8, where the 7 heavens are called ⲧⲙⲉϩⲥⲁⲱⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ. Exc. Theod. 63.1 refers to the Ogdoad, ἡ κυριακὴ ὀνομάζεται. Note also the Ophites, in Irenaeus, Haer. 1.30.10, "septem dies, quos et sanctam hebdomadam vocant." Cf. Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 6.16.138.

developed from controversies between Christians and Jews. Jewish Christians more than others would have been concerned to demonstrate that superiority;[1] in an effort to find analogous conceptions they would consequently locate God in the Ogdoad above the seventh heaven. The Gnostic emphasis upon the superiority of the Ogdoad over the Hebdomad[2] evidently developed as a reinterpretation of the Christian emphasis. The belief that God is located in the Ogdoad presumably did not antedate the rise of Christianity; otherwise Christian

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[1]Jews had already attempted to demonstrate the importance of the hebdomad; see Philo, De spec. leg. 2.15.58f., and cf. idem, Leg. alleg. 1.4-6.

[2]Cf. also the number seven in ATho 7; note that the "mother of the seven houses" has her rest in the 8th (ATho 27). The Ogdoad is also mentioned in AJn 95.

In Gnostic works the 7 heavens are always ruled by the Demiurge; cf. ApJn 39.10ff.; 41.13, 16ff.; 42.5ff.; 44.2-7. See also the number seven in EvMar 16.4-13; ApJn 42.2f.; 43.6f.; 48.6ff.; 49.11 to 50.4; 50.17; 52.7f.; Irenaeus, Haer. 1.5.2, 4 (Valentinians); OrWor 149.24ff.; 150.1f., 15; 152.15ff.

In the Gnostic Ogdoad one finds rest. Cf. SJC 123.9f.; 124.7ff.; note also SJC 95.13; 111.6ff.; 114.6; Exc. Theod. 63.1; OrWor 152.26-31; 153.1of., 23-27; 154.6ff.; 156.3f. The Nag Hammadi Gospel of the Egyptians (no relation to EvEg) has 3 Ogdoads; cf. Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, p. 178. On the superiority of 8 over 7 note also Marcus' teaching; cf. Irenaeus, Haer. 1.14.6; Sagnard, op. cit., pp. 358-86. See also Hippolytus, Elench. 7.23f. (Basilides).

apologists would have cited this belief as evidence that the eighth day was superior to the seventh. Probably the emphasis upon the eighth day and the related emphasis upon the Ogdoad resulted from Christian--possibly from Jewish-Christian--influence.

A belief in the existence of three or more heavens was not necessarily universal among Christians. Many of the apocrypha say nothing about multiple heavens, even apocrypha that mention Paradise, the abyss, or the evil powers in the air.[1] This silence may not mean that the authors were unfamiliar with the concept, but a number of Jewish writings containing speculation about the universe also mention only one heaven.[2] The New Testament writers often used the singular form, οὐρανός, when referring to heaven.[3] And H. Bietenhard noted that even where οὐρανοί is used this

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[1]Cf. APh 144; Desc. 9 (Gk, Lat A). ATho 32 speaks of the earth being girded by a serpent, but ATho mentions no multiple heavens. ATho 22 even uses the singular form for heaven (εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν).

[2]Cf. e.g. I En., IV Ezra, II Baruch; see Bietenhard, Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum, p. 6.

[3]Cf. the table in Charles, The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, p. xlii n. 1.

may be simply a translation of שָׁמַיִם.[1]

When the apocrypha describe the journey of a soul into heaven, they usually state that Michael or some other angels accompany the soul.[2] Some apocrypha regard the death of an individual as a fearful event, but only because it marks the beginning of a fearful journey past the abyss,[3] where the soul must cross the "seven aeons of darkness,"[4] meet numerous malevolent beings,[5] and pass through a river or sea of fire.[6] Some of these

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[1]Bietenhard, op. cit., pp. 6f.

[2]Cf. e.g. HiJos 22f.; BoRe 18ab; APh 137; ApPa 14ff.

[3]See the homily attributed to Euodius, 11 (Robinson, Coptic Apocryphal Gospels, p. 58).

[4]HiJos 22.1. If this refers to the 7 heavens, HiJos is the only non-Gnostic apocryphon that considers all 7 heavens controlled by evil powers. Cf. also the discourse of Theodosius, 2.25 (Robinson, op. cit., p. 95); Assumption of Mary (Lat B, in Tischendorf, Apocalypses apocryphae, p. 129) 7(8).2.

[5]HiJos 22.1; the homily of Euodius, loc. cit.; a discourse attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, 21a (in Budge, Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt, pp. 49-73); the discourse of Theodosius, 2.20-25 (Robinson, op. cit., pp. 95ff.); Assumption of Mary (Lat B, in Tischendorf, loc. cit.) 7(8).1; ApPa 12, 14ff.

[6]HiJos 22.1; BoRe 18ab; the homily of Euodius, 11.14 (Robinson, op. cit., p. 58); the discourse of

conceptions occur in stories of the martyrdom of various apostles, even though the writers of these accounts seemed to view death as an eagerly-awaited release from the bondage of earthly life.[1] Gnostic books also indicate that the soul must meet adverse powers on its way to heaven.[2] The Hymn of the Pearl may also tell

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Cyril of Jerusalem, loc. cit.; the discourse of Theodosius, 2.27 (Robinson, op. cit., p. 97); Martyrdom of Pilate in Mingana, ed., Woodbrooke Studies, II, 277. Cf. Edsman, Le baptême de feu, pp. 1-15.

[1]Cf. AJn 114: "And as I come to you, let the fire be withdrawn, darkness conquered, chaos without strength, the furnace dead, Gehenna put out; let angels follow, devils fear; let rulers be crushed, powers fall, . . . the devil muzzled, Satan laughed at, his wrath burned out. . . . And grant me to complete the way to you without insult and molestation."

The angels mentioned are evil angels ("follow"= "be left behind"), as Lipsius noted (Apk. Apg. I, 540) and the textual variants testify. Lat (in Abdias 5.23) shortens the section, minimising the evil aspects: "Aperi mihi pulsanti januam vitae, Principes tenebrarum non occurrant mihi, nec veniat mihi pes superbiae [i.e. demonic powers; Fabricius, Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti, II, 588n.] & manus extranea a te non attingat me: sed suscipe me secundum verbum tuum." Lipsius explained the alterations as due to catholic suppression of the Gnostic teaching in the Gk version (Apk. Apg. I, 540f.). But he was able to find Gnostic elements in Lat that are missing from Gk (Apk. Apg. I, 541).

Cf. also ATho 167, a prayer for protection from various hostile beings one must meet. APh 144 mentions the dragon, adverse powers, the river of fire, etc.

[2]EvMar 15ff. (and presumably some of the missing

something about the journey of the soul, but scholars do not agree concerning its interpretation.[1]

R. M. Grant argued that the concept of a heavenly journey of the soul came into Gnosticism from Judaism.[2] But the writers of Jewish apocrypha, unlike the Gnostics

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pages 11-14) mentions the evil powers and gives the necessary passwords; cf. also the Gospel of Philip cited by Epiphanius, Pan. 26.13. EvTho 50 may give similar passwords, although other interpretations are possible; cf. Grant-Freedman, The Secret Sayings of Jesus, p. 152; Gärtner, The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas, pp. 200f. Cf. also Irenaeus, Haer. 1.21.5; Origen, C. Cels. 6.31.

[1]ATho 108-13. The hymn is thought by some to tell of the descent of the redeemer; cf. Jonas, Gnosis und spätantiker Geist, I, 320-27; idem, The Gnostic Religion, pp. 125-29; Bornkamm, Mythos und Legende in den apokryphen Thomas-Akten, pp. 111-17. But A. F. J. Klijn, "The so-called Hymn of the Pearl (Acts of Thomas ch. 108-113)," VC 14 (1960), 154-64, interpreted the hymn as referring to the pre-existent soul which comes into the world and then returns to God (cf. also Apk. Apg. I, 292-99, and the refs. in Aa II.2, p. XXIII). For the idea of a pre-existent soul cf. Wisdom 8.19f.; II En. 23.4; Josephus, Bell. Jud. 2.8.11; Philo, De Gig. 2, 3. For rabbinic views on the pre-existence of the soul cf. B. Hagigah 12b; Str-B II, 341-46.

In any case "Egypt" in the hymn refers to the world. Egypt (or perhaps the pearl?) is in the midst of the sea surrounded by the serpent (so Syriac; Gk omits the ref. to the sea). It would appear that the author of the hymn thought the earth was surrounded by a hostile serpent and contained other hostile powers of a lower order (cf. ATho 109, 111).

[2]Grant, Gnosticism and Early Christianity, pp. 61ff.

and the writers of the apocryphal martyrdoms, know nothing of an ascent of the soul past hostile powers.[1] The account of Isaiah's journey through the heavens, found in the Ascension of Isaiah, points in that direction, however. The writer of that book considered the inhabitants of the lower heavens inferior and possibly hostile,[2] angels who challenged the right of a person to ascend to God[3] and who required a password before allowing anyone to ascend or descend.[4] Any people who thought of Paradise as far removed from the earth and who pictured the air as filled with spirits

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[1]Jews did feel, however, that at death good angels took the souls of the righteous while evil angels took the souls of the unrighteous; cf. B. Ketuboth 104a.

[2]In Asc. Isa. 10.20-27 Christ must disguise himself in order to pass unrecognised through the lower five heavens. The air beneath the firmament is filled with the angels of Sammael fighting and envying one another (Asc. Isa. 7.9). The lower five heavens each contain angels on the right and on the left, with a superior being enthroned in the midst (Asc. Isa. 7.13-35). The sixth heaven has no angels on the left and no throne, since God governs it directly (Asc. Isa. 8.16-21).

Since Jews believed in angels of vengeance and considered Satan a heavenly being subject to God, they could have regarded the angels in the lower five heavens as beings hostile to man but still obedient to God.

[3]Asc. Isa. 8.1 to 9.7. [4]Asc. Isa. 10.24-29.

must have felt that a soul could not undertake a voyage to Paradise unaccompanied and unprotected. The idea that angels accompanied the soul probably developed from such considerations. Neither Gnostics nor Jewish Christians originated the basic conceptions,[1] but one can observe a development from the Jewish and Jewish-Christian belief in a number of heavens ordered by God[2] to a belief, reflected in the Ascension of Isaiah, in the semi-hostility of heavenly beings, to the Gnostic view that heavenly beings are wholly hostile and malevolent. The apocrypha evidently represent a stage in this development somewhere between the viewpoint reflected in the Ascension of Isaiah and that of the Gnostics.

The idea that one of the hostile beings is a heavenly serpent[3] may have resulted in part from an

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[1]Greeks believed that the air was filled with souls; cf. Diogenes Laertius, Heraclitus 7. The idea probably developed from earlier animistic conceptions. Not all the spirits were necessarily considered evil; but in ancient societies (as in the east today) people avoided travelling alone and feared marauders. The same attitudes would colour ideas about a soul travelling toward Paradise.

[2]Cf. II En., III Baruch.

[3]Cf. ATho 32; APh 144. Cf. also ATho 108.

identification of Satan with the serpent. But notions of a primeval, supramundane serpent or dragon were widespread and probably developed in pre-Christian times.[1] Observation of the Milky Way could have led to such ideas; one need not suppose Gnostic influences upon the apocryphal writers.[2] The view that the soul must pass by Hell on the way to Paradise possibly resulted from the Jewish or Jewish-Christian elevation of Hell into the third heaven.[3] The soul passing through the heavens was bound, in that case, to go through the one containing Hell.

The concept that one must pass through a river of

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[1] III Baruch 4.3-6; cf. the Odes of Solomon 22.5; T. Asher 7.3; Rev. 12.3; Langton, Essentials of Demonology, pp. 208-10.

[2] Cf. Apk. Apg. I, 321-24; Origen, C. Cels. 6.30; cf. 6.25; Pistis Sophia 126; Jonas, The Gnostic Religion, pp. 116f.

[3] II En. 10.1-6; Bietenhard, op. cit., pp. 205-09. Early Jews felt that the place of the righteous dead and that of the unrighteous dead was one, but that a division of some kind separated them from each other; cf. Luke 16.20ff.; also Asc. Isa. 10.8 (Christ descends into Hell, but not to the section reserved for the lost). This idea is apparently reflected in EpAp 27; cf. Schmidt, Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung, pp. 315f. When Paradise was made the heavenly place of the righteous, Hell inevitably accompanied it into the heavens.

fire on the way to God may have roots in Hellenistic thought,[1] but it probably came more directly from Jewish conceptions. Jews felt that fire was stored in heaven for the day of judgement[2] and they believed in the existence of a heavenly sea.[3] It was generally assumed that God was surrounded by fire or light[4] and that a river of fire flowed from his throne.[5] Some midrashim pictured Paradise itself as surrounded by a wall of fire.[6] The apocryphal writers may have considered the river of fire a place of testing in which the ungodly perish but the righteous are saved.[7]

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[1]Cf. legends about the Styx; K. Kerényi, Die Mythologie der Griechen (Zürich, 1951), pp. 39f.

[2]T. Levi 3.2. [3]T. Levi 2.7; cf. Rev. 4.6.

[4]In ancient thought fire and light were often interchangeable concepts; cf. the use of φῶς in Mark 14.54 and Luke 22.56. For expressions of the idea that fire surrounds God cf. I En. 14.9-20; Apocalypse of Abraham 18f. Cf. also B. Hagigah 12b.

[5]I En. 14.9, 19; Dan. 7.10; Gen. R. 78 on Gen. 32.26; III En. 36. Cf. Edsman, op. cit., pp. 19-31; Bietenhard, op. cit., p. 75.

[6]Bietenhard, op. cit., p. 189.

[7]Sib. Or. 2.252ff.; Encomium on John the Baptist (Budge, Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt, pp. 128-45) 13b-14a; homily of Euodius, 11.14 (Robinson, op. cit., p. 58). See also I En. 67.5-13; Lactantius, Div. inst. 7.21.6; Edsman, op. cit., pp. 1-15.

CHAPTER VII

JESUS CHRIST AND CHRISTIANITY

During the first centuries of the church Christians held a variety of opinions concerning Christ and his work, but nearly all agreed that Jesus was both human and divine.[1] The New Testament contained the basic data from which Christians developed their understanding of Christ; apocryphal stories about him consisted largely of material drawn from the New Testament. Any writer whose portrayal of Christ differed greatly from the New Testament presentation would be censured as a heretic. As a result, apocrypha with unorthodox views concerning Christ almost always came from some definite heretical group; Gnostics probably produced most such apocrypha.[2] Apocryphal

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[1]Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, p. 138.

[2]Note that the present study does not investigate Gnostic or Jewish influences upon the NT itself. For alleged Gnostic influence upon the NT see especially Bultmann, Theologie des Neuen Testaments, passim. On the alleged influences upon the canonical birth narratives cf. Daube's observation (The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 5-9) that Jewish tradition knew of a miraculous conception of Moses. L. Conrady, Die Quelle der kanonischen Kindheitsgeschichten Jesus'

teachings that are obviously heretical require no extensive discussion here.

But more orthodox Christians often gave a variety of interpretations to the teachings found within the New Testament;[1] some of these differences are reflected in the apocrypha. Even when Christians agreed upon certain ideas they sometimes differed in the amount of emphasis placed upon them.[2] These differences in detail or in emphasis sometimes reflect the influences to which the apocryphal writers were subject.

I. THE BIRTH OF JESUS

Jewish Christians differed among themselves

(Göttingen, 1900), attempted to show that Prot was the basis for the canonical birth narratives. Cf. also Bauer's explanation of the traditions surrounding Christ's birth, in his Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen, p. 65.

[1]Cf. e.g. the logos conception. The basis of it lay in the NT, but Christians differed as to its meaning (Kelly, op. cit., pp. 158f.). And although NT writers believed in Christ's pre-existence (Kelly, op. cit., p. 138) different groups believed in different kinds of pre-existence (cf. Harnack, History of Dogma, I, 318-32).

[2]Note the different representations of the apostolic message preached to non-Christians. Some emphasize the life, death, and resurrection of Christ

concerning the teaching of the virgin birth. Some accepted that Christ was born of a virgin, but others denied it; the church fathers considered the latter group heretics.[1] Gnostics also held differing opinions concerning the virgin birth. Those who held an adoptionist Christology denied the virgin birth, holding that the heavenly Christ had descended upon a strictly-human Jesus.[2] Others accepted the church's teaching concerning the virgin birth but denied that it had conferred any true human nature upon Christ.[3] And

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(e.g. Acts 10.36ff.); others emphasize deliverance from error and lust (AJn 33); others teach that men should worship one God and live in chastity (e.g. APaThec 9).

[1]Origen, C. Cels. 5.61, mentioned both groups of Jewish Christians; cf. also Justin, Dial. 48; HE 3.27.2. Many writers stated that the Ebionites denied the virgin birth (cf. Origen, Hom. 17 in Luc.; Epiphanius, Pan. 30.2.2; Hippolytus, Elench. 10.22; Irenaeus, Haer. 1.26.2; Tertullian, De virg. vel. 6), along with Cerinthus (Irenaeus, Haer. 1.26.1) and Elxai (Hippolytus, Elench. 9.14). Jerome referred to Nazaraeans who accepted the virgin birth (Epist. 112.13), although Epiphanius did not know what the Nazoraeans taught regarding the virgin birth (Pan. 29.7.6). Cf. also Bauer, op. cit., pp. 30-32.

[2]Cf. Cerinthus (Irenaeus, Haer. 1.26.1) and Carpocrates (Irenaeus, Haer. 1.25.1). Other Gnostics also denied the virgin birth; cf. Irenaeus, Haer. 3.11.3; Hippolytus, Elench. 5.26.

[3]Irenaeus, Haer. 1.7.2.

Marcion denied that the saviour had ever been born at all.[1] Such differences did not exist among orthodox Christians, although the western church emphasized the virgin birth much more than eastern Christians.[2]

The Protevangelium of James reflects the beginnings of an increased interest in Jesus' mother and in the circumstances of his birth. In its account of the annunciation and the nativity the Protevangelium depends largely upon accounts in Matthew and Luke,[3] but it adds a number of details to meet objections to the idea that Christ's mother was a virgin. It presents Joseph as an elderly widower who considers Mary just a child, and it records that Joseph was working in another place when the conception occurred.[4] It states that the

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[1]Hippolytus, Elench. 7.31; Tertullian, Adv. Marc. 3.11, 13; 4.21; idem, De carne Christi 1.4; Origen, Hom. 17 in Luc.

[2]Quasten, Patrology, I, 27.

[3]Cf. Prot 11-22 and the NT parallels noted in Apok 1, Apok 2, and Apok 3. Note also the apocrypha dependent upon Prot, e.g. Ps-Matt., Armenian Infancy Gospel, Arabic Infancy Gospel, Birth of Mary.

[4]Prot 9.2; 13.1; Ps-Matt. 8.4f.; 10.1; HiJos 4.4 to 5.2. Origen, In Matt. 10.17, indicated that a Gospel of Peter taught that Jesus' brothers were Joseph's sons by a former marriage, a teaching found in Prot and in some of the church fathers.

Jewish priests made Joseph and Mary drink the water of jealousy, which failed to convict them of any sin,[1] and adds that after Christ's birth Salome personally investigated and saw that Mary's virginity was intact.[2] Some of these ideas came early into catholic tradition, and the writer of the Protevangelium probably collected and unified traditions that already existed.[3] The work contains no evident indications of Gnostic or Jewish-Christian influence.[4]

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[1]Prot 16; Ps-Matt. 12.2ff. The rite described is based upon that of Num. 5.11-31, although there are significant differences. On the use of the water of jealousy cf. Josephus, Antt. 3.11.6; Philo, De leg. spec. 3.10; M. Sotah 1-5.

[2]Prot 19.3 to 20.1; Ps-Matt. 13.4.

[3]Cf. Findlay, Byways in Early Christian Literature, p. 151.

[4]Writers no longer attempt to demonstrate Gnostic or Jewish-Christian influence upon Prot, but such attempts were common during the 19th century. Some writers considered Prot orthodox, e.g. Feltzer, Historische und dogmenhistorische Elemente in den apokryphen Kindheits-Evangelien, p. 36. Nicolas, Etudes sur les évangiles apocryphes, p. 19, also thought Prot had no significant dogmatic bias, but he felt that the infancy stories had arisen within Jewish-Christian circles (p. 294). Van Cleef and Hofstede de Groot, De apocryfe evangeliën naar de nieuwste uitgaven van C. Tischendorf, pp. 10f., felt that Prot was written to combat Ebionite teaching that rejected the virgin birth. Some scholars said that the author of Prot could not possibly have

Apocryphal writers often mentioned the virgin birth,[1] but the Acts of Pilate provides a significant exception. In its discussion of Jesus' birth some Jews accuse Jesus of having been born of fornication.[2] Then twelve men defend Jesus, not by claiming that he was

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been a Jewish Christian; cf. Meyer in Apok 1, p. 53; Cullmann in Apok 3, p. 278. Lipsius explained it as an originally Jewish-Christian work with later Gnostic and catholic recensions (R. A. Lipsius, "Gospels, Apocryphal," W. Smith and H. Wace, eds., A Dictionary of Christian Biography, II [London, 1880], 703). Bardenhewer, Geschichte der altkirchlichen Litteratur, I, 406, felt that Prot was of Jewish-Christian origin.

For a discussion and full summary of these opinions cf. Amann, Le Protévangile de Jacques et ses remaniements latins, pp. 77-100; Amann concluded that Prot originated within the "grande Église" (p. 99). For more recent discussion cf. Morenz, Die Geschichte von Joseph dem Zimmermann, p. 122, who connected the account of Mary's pregnancy in HiJos with Gnostic ideas. Cf. also van Stempvoort, Waarheid en verbeelding rondom het Nieuwe Testament, p. 46, who wrote that the author of Prot was influenced by oriental tales. Note that Quasten, op. cit., I, 121, considered Prot Jewish Christian.

[1]Besides the infancy Gospels cf. APe 7; ATho 143; EpAp 3; Abdias 10.3; EvBarth 4.9; ApPa 41. The legends exalting the virgin (such as the narratives of her assumption) developed partly from an emphasis upon the virgin birth. Note that in APe 14 Simon Magus denies the virgin birth.

[2]Cf. APi 2.3f. That Jesus was born out of wedlock was a slander commonly reported among the Jews; cf. Strack, Jesus, die Häretiker und die Christen nach den ältesten jüdischen Angaben, pp. 27*ff.

born of a virgin, but by pointing out that Joseph and Mary were married.[1] It would thus appear either that the writer was ignorant of the tradition concerning the virgin birth or else that he did not believe it; in either case the writer could have been reflecting some Jewish-Christian influence.[2]

In the Acts of Thomas Jesus once refers to himself as the son of Joseph the carpenter, but this fact probably does not mean that the writer thought Joseph was Jesus' natural father.[3] Scholars at one time thought that the Infancy Gospel of Thomas reflected

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[1] APi 2.4: the witnesses say, "We do not say he is from fornication (ἐκ πορνείας), but we know that Joseph was betrothed to Mary, and he was not born from fornication." Then Pilate observes that the Jewish accusation is not true, since there were espousals.

[2] A number of other indications also point toward a possible Jewish-Christian authorship of APi; cf. above, p. 110 n. 3.

[3] In ATho 2 Jesus begins a bill of sale with ἐγὼ Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ἰωσὴφ τοῦ τέκτονος. He probably uses "son of Joseph the carpenter" simply as a surname, especially since ATho 143 specifically mentions the virgin birth. ATho teaches that Thomas is Jesus' twin brother, an idea which would logically imply that both had the same parents (cf. Bauer, op. cit., pp. 31f.). But the writer of ATho may not have made that inference; the fact that "Thomas" (or Didymus) means "twin" probably gave rise to the tradition.

Ebionite views of Jesus' origin,[1] but their evidence was not convincing. III Corinthians possibly reflects the opinion of some heretics that Jesus Christ was not born at all.[2]

Some of the Gnostics attempted to reconcile their own ideas with the tradition that Jesus was born of a virgin. The Valentinians said that although Jesus was born of Mary he did not partake of her human nature.[3] Others accepted that Jesus was born of Mary but taught that Mary was a divine power rather than a human being.[4]

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[1]Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 333ff., and van Cleef and Hofstede de Groot, op. cit., p. 44, felt that Inf. Tho. presented Joseph as Jesus' real father. Inf. Tho. nowhere affirms the virgin birth, and Inf. Tho. 13 (Gk A) does refer to Joseph as Jesus' father (as does APi 1.1). But these refs. could mean no more than similar refs. in Luke 3.23 and 4.22; cf. also John 1.45; 6.42.

[2]According to III Cor 1.14, Simon and Cleobius denied that Christ was born of Mary. It is possible that they taught that a pre-existent Christ had descended upon the human Jesus, but they may have taught that Jesus Christ was never born; see above, pp. 284 n. 2, 285 n. 1. Cf. also EvTho 15, "When you see him who was not born of woman."

[3]Cf. Irenaeus, Haer. 1.7.2; 3.11.3.

[4]This view was expressed in EvHe, according to a discourse attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, 12a (Budge, Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt, p. 60). A power first called Michael is said to have taken charge of Christ; the power was called Mary

According to the Protevangelium, Jesus' birthplace was in a cave;[1] the tradition that Jesus was born

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when it came into the world. On the passage cf. the refs. cited above, p. 239 n. 5. The passage is translated in ApocNT, p. 8, and in Apok 3, p. 107.

A similar notion is combatted in a discourse of Theodosius, 5.20 (Robinson, Coptic Apocryphal Gospels, p. 109); Jesus tells his mother that wicked men would think her a heavenly power. Cf. also the Bogomile Book of John the Evangelist (ApocNT, p. 191), in which Mary is a heavenly angel.

Possibly related is EvPh 17: "Mary is the virgin that no power has defiled. . . . This virgin, whom no power has defiled, is revealed that the powers may defile themselves." Cf. Hyp. Arch. 140.2f., where Eve refers to her daughter Norea (Seth's wife) as "this virgin whom the powers have not defiled." Schenke, in Leipoldt-Schenke, Koptisch-gnostische Schriften aus den Papyrus-Codices von Nag-Hamadi, p. 41, stated that EvPh seems to consider Mary an incarnation of the spiritual wife of Adam or as Seth's wife. OrWor 150.18 also mentions a "spiritual virgin" in each of the heavens; the "virgin of the Holy Spirit" sits at the left of Sabaoth while Christ sits at his right (OrWor 153.27ff.). This may be a combining of the catholic emphasis upon Mary with the concept of a Father-Mother-Son Trinity (cf. below, pp. 299f.). OrWor 156.25ff. also mentions the heavenly "blood of the virgin" which purifies the earth. Note also EvPh 82, "The Father of all united himself with the virgin who had come down." Schenke, in Leipoldt-Schenke, op. cit., p. 53, wrote that this virgin is Achamoth.

EvPh seems to alternate between an acceptance and a rejection of the virgin birth of Christ. Cf. EvPh 17, "The Lord [would] not [have] said 'my [father who art] in heaven' if [he] had not had an[other] father; but he would simply have said ['my father']." EvPh 91 refers to Jesus as the seed of Joseph the carpenter, but EvPh 83 states that "Jesus was born of a virgin."

[1]Prot 18f. There is no mention of a stable or a

in a cave is supported by other ancient testimonies.[1] The origin of this tradition is a matter of dispute among scholars. Justin cited an Old Testament passage upon which the tradition could have been based,[2] but it is more likely that Christians used this prophecy to support a tradition already in existence.[3] Some scholars have noted that pagan gods were sometimes said to be born in caves and have felt that this fact explains the tradition concerning Christ's birth.[4] It

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manger. Cf. HiJos 7.3; Arabic Infancy Gospel 2; Ps-Matt. 13.2.

[1]Justin, Dial. 78; Origen, C. Cels. 1.51; Eusebius, Dem. 7.2.15; idem, Vita Const. 3.41-43. For other refs. cf. Thilo, Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti, pp. 381-83; Hofmann, Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen, pp. 108ff.; Bauer, op. cit., pp. 61f. Dalman, Sacred Sites and Ways, pp. 44f., felt that the tradition was probably true. But note that Dalman, op. cit., chap. 2, and Bauer, op. cit., pp. 61-67, come to quite opposite conclusions on the basis of the same evidence.

The cave presently shown as the site of the nativity was accepted as such before A.D. 326; in that year Constantine's mother, Helena, ordered a church built there (Eusebius, Vita Const. 3.41-43).

[2]Justin, Dial. 78, citing Isa. 33.16 LXX.

[3]Bauer, op. cit., p. 64.

[4]Cf. e.g. van Stempvoort, op. cit., pp. 22f., who said that early Christian preachers transferred the attributes of various heathen gods to Christ; the cave story was consequently "een parel aan de kroon van

is evident that some early Christians believed that the cave tradition contradicted the canonical statement that Jesus was laid in a manger, so they attempted to harmonise the two traditions.[1] The earliest testimonies to the birth of Christ usually mention either the cave or the stable, but they never combine the two ideas; by about A.D. 100 there evidently existed two quite separate traditions concerning the place of Jesus' birth.[2] If Jesus was not, in fact, born in a cave, the existence of this tradition is best explained as a result of post-apostolic comparisons between Christ's birth and the births of pagan deities.

But if the cave tradition was a post-apostolic development it is difficult to understand how it could have gained such a strong foothold in church tradition, particularly when the Lucan account clearly referred to

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Christus," for "de grot-idee is een stuk mythologie, een religieus opsiersel." Meyer, in Handb., p. 126, listed a number of pagan parallels to the idea of a birth in a cave; Justin, Dial. 70, 78, noted the parallel with Mithras.

[1]Luke 2.7, 16. Ps-Matt. 14 states that Jesus was born in a cave and later moved to a stable and placed in a manger.

[2]Dalman, op. cit., p. 44.

a stable. And it is questionable whether many first-century Christians were familiar with pagan birth stories.[1] It also seems unlikely that Christians would have attributed to Jesus a single peripheral attribute of some pagan divinities before they had accorded him the more central features.

It would seem more probable that the two traditions about Christ's birthplace arose as separate descriptions of a single event. Palestinian caves have been used for housing people and animals clear up to the present day.[2] If Jesus had been born in a cave that was

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[1]Bauer, op. cit., p. 64, stated that the "religionsgeschichtliche Parallelen . . . weisen keinen Weg zu einem klaren Verständnis" concerning Christ's birth. He considered the tradition a result of theological reflection: Jesus' birth was transferred from Nazareth to Bethlehem when he was recognised as the Messiah. "Die weitere Entwickelung liess es erwünscht erscheinen, dass Jesus nicht in dem Flecken selber zur Welt kam. Man trug dem dogmatischen Postulat Rechnung, indem man an der Nähe Bethlehems festhielt, und verlegte die Geburt vor die Tore. Die Annahme einer Höhle wird notwendig, um der Gebärenden Unterschlupf zu bieten" (Bauer, op. cit., p. 65). But this construction is entirely conjectural, and it does not adequately explain the origin of the cave tradition.

[2]Dalman, op. cit., p. 44. Numerous dry caves in the steep hillsides are easily converted into one-room houses by the addition of a front wall. Present-day Arabs who live in normal houses often use caves to house their animals. And in Christ's day Palestinian peasants always slept in the same room with their animals.

used as a stable, Palestinian Christians would tend to emphasize only that it was a stable; the fact that the stable was a cave would have been assumed as common knowledge. But Christians in other areas, where caves were less commonly-used for domestic purposes, would tend to mention only that the birth had taken place in a cave. This difference in emphasis would eventually develop into two separate traditions.[1] If that is what happened, then the accounts of Christ's birth in a cave rest ultimately upon early Jewish-Christian tradition, but in their present form they must have come from Christians who did not live in Palestine.

II. HUMANITY AND DIVINITY OF JESUS

During the early years of the church Christians keenly debated a number of questions concerning the relationship between God the father and Jesus Christ his son. Some Jewish Christians, in opposition to the rest of the church, denied the deity and pre-existence of Christ.[2] Even though the New Testament writers had

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[1]For arguments in favour of the authenticity of the cave tradition cf. Amann, op. cit., pp. 55-60.

[2]Justin, Dial. 48, mentioned to Trypho "some of

regarded Christ as pre-existent, Semitic thought was able to attribute to everything a heavenly pre-existence.[1] Even the designation "son of God" could be variously interpreted, since it could refer not only to Christ but also to angels[2] or to Israel.[3] In fact, Jewish Christians could take as ambiguous a clear designation of Christ as θεός,[4] since אֱלֹהִים could be used to refer to God, angels, idols, Israel, or even to men like Abraham and Moses.[5]

Some of the New Testament apocrypha give unqualified assertions of the deity of Christ.[6] Refer-

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your own race" who denied Jesus' pre-existence and virgin birth but who accepted him as the promised Messiah. J. G. Machen, The Virgin Birth of Christ (New York, 1932), p. 17, argued that these should not be identified with any of the Jewish Christians mentioned in Justin, Dial. 47. According to Hippolytus, Elench. 7.34, the Ebionites taught that Jesus was simply the first man to fulfill the law; anyone else might do as he had done.

[1]Harnack, History of Dogma, I, 318f.

[2]Job 38.7; Ps. 29.1; 89.6.

[3]Exod. 4.22; Hos. 11.1.

[4]Cf. Rom. 9.5, but note the variant punctuation.

[5]Cf. e.g. Ps. 82.1, 6; 97.7; Marmorstein, The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God, I, 69f.

[6]Ps-Matt. 24, where Jesus "Deus esset deorum

ences to Christ as God, as the son of God, or as one with the Father probably depended upon the New Testament or upon teaching common in the church.[1] References to Christ as the λόγος similarly depended largely upon the New Testament, although the Christian concept may have had a Jewish basis.[2] Some Jewish Christians, as well as other Christians, probably considered Christ divine.[3]

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nostrorum"; Desc. 4.3 (Lat A), where Jesus is called "deus." Cf. Desc. 12 (not original), where he is called the God of Israel. Cf. also EvBarth 2.11, 13; Inf. Tho. 7.4 (Gk A). Christ is often called God in the apocryphal Acts; cf. above, pp. 196 n. 4, 198 n. 2.

[1]On the unity of Christ with the Father cf. EpAp 17 et passim; AJn 98; APe 20.

[2]Christ is evidently called the Word in AJn 96 (cf. AJn 94, 101); also in APe 38; EpAp 17, 31; the Preaching of Peter cited by Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 1.29.182; EvTr 16.34; 23.33; 37.8; AThe 80.

Philonic concepts concerning the Logos may have influenced Christian ideas, but the idea of Christ as the "word" probably goes back to the Hebrew use of "the word of Yahweh" as a circumlocution for God; cf. G. A. F. Knight, From Moses to Paul (London, 1949), pp. 80-85, and refs. there. Note also the anthropomorphising of λόγος in Wisdom 18.15, "Thy all-powerful word leaped from heaven, from the royal throne, into the midst of the land that was doomed."

[3]Knight, op. cit., argued that the doctrine of the deity of Christ is fully foreshadowed in pre-Christian Judaism; he felt that the Jewish emphasis upon the unity of God was in part a later reaction against Christian teaching. Marmorstein, op. cit., II, 48ff., noted that some Jews held highly anthropomorphic notions

Some of the apocrypha refer to Christ as the creator.[1] At least one apocryphal work presents an interpretation of Genesis 1.1 which takes the words "in the beginning" to mean "by the son."[2] This interpretation apparently dates from the first century and probably originated among Jewish Christians.[3] The same apocryphon also refers to Christ as the law.[4]

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about God; he also mentioned (ibid., I, 66f.) that ש'א was sometimes used as a designation for God; cf. Exod. 15.3.

[1]Cf. Desc. 10 (Lat A); EpAp 3; AAnMatt 14.

[2]The Preaching of Peter cited by Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 6.5.39; 6.7.58.

[3]Cf. Clement of Alexandria, Eclogae propheticae 4.1, "the Son is ἀρχή." Rev. 3.14 and John 1.1 may also be related; cf. also Theophilus, Ad Autol. 2.10; Daniélou, Théologie du judéo-christianisme, pp. 219-22. This interpretation was evidently based upon rabbinic ideas; cf. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 151f.

In Judaism the idea was current that the divine name had been the agency of creation; cf. B. Berakoth 55a, "Bezaleel knew the combination of letters by which heaven and earth were made." For God's name as the agency of creation cf. I En. 69.14-25; Quispel, "The Jung Codex and its Significance," F. L. Cross, ed., The Jung Codex, pp. 69f. If the Son was thought equivalent to the name of God or to bear that name (see below, p. 308), it would follow that the Son was the creator. Note that even to the Gnostics the creator, Ialdabaoth, was the son of Sophia.

[4]Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 1.29.182. For Christ as the Torah see above, p. 73 n. 1.

Some apocrypha present Christ as of an enormous height.[1] Judaism attributed to Adam a superior height,[2] and it is probable that this tradition influenced ideas about Christ.[3] This is probably a definite example of Jewish-Christian influence upon the apocryphal traditions.

The apocryphal Acts sometimes note that Christ appeared in a number of different forms, sometimes as an apostle, sometimes as a youth;[4] he is even referred to as ὁ πολύμορφος.[5] Most of these apocrypha assume that he took only one form at a time,[6] although the Acts of John states that Jesus sometimes seemed to have various forms at once.[7] This conception may or may not reflect a docetic understanding of Christ's person.[8]

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[1] EvPe 40; AJn 89f. Cf. also Hermas, Sim. 9.6.1; Hippolytus, Elench. 9.13; 4 Ezra 2.43; EvPh 26. See Vaganay, L'évangile de Pierre, p. 300.

[2] Cf. above, p. 213. Cf. also Wisdom 18.16, where the word of God is said to have touched heaven while standing on earth.

[3] The Ebionites believed that Adam and Christ were the same person; cf. Epiphanius, Pan. 30.3.

[4] Cf. above, p. 145.

[5] ATho 48; AJn 82.

[6] But cf. APe 21.

[7] AJn 88-91

[8] The section in AJn is decidedly docetic; but

In the Gnostic Apocryphon of John Christ appears in three different forms, presenting himself as a Trinity of Father-Mother-Son.[1] The idea of a Father-Mother-Son Trinity, although it is reflected in the Apocryphon of John, is not necessary to the Gnostic system there. It does not follow from other aspects of Gnostic thought; most Gnostic systems know nothing of such a Trinity. So it seems probable that the idea first arose outside Gnostic circles, possibly among those Jewish Christians who considered the Holy Spirit feminine; the Gospel according to the Hebrews often refers to the Holy Spirit as Christ's mother.[2] To such

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Origen, C. Cels. 2.64, also held that Jesus did not always appear the same to all who looked at him.

[1]ApJn 21.3-13; Christ appears as a youth and as an old man, ⲟⲩⲉⲙⲛⲧⲟⲩⲁ ⲧⲓⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ. The context indicates that the third form is that of a woman (cf. the comment on ApJn 21.6 in Till, Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, p. 83), although the text does not explicitly say so.

For a Father-Mother-Son Trinity cf. also Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, p. 330, who notes that the fragmentary Triple Discourse of the Triple Protennoia teaches that the Word was made Father, Mother, and Son. AThо 39 contains a prayer of praise to Christ "and to your invisible Father and to your Holy Spirit and the Mother of all creation," which probably implies a similar concept.

[2]Origen, Comm. on John 2.12 (PG 14, col. 132);

Christians Trinitarian ideas would lead to a conception of a Father-Mother-Son Trinity. If that is how this view arose, then it would appear that Jewish-Christian ideas at this point affected the Gnostic writer of the Apocryphon of John.

When Christians attempted to determine the relationship between Christ's deity and his humanity, some of them very early gave a docetic explanation of his person. Docetic emphases did not necessarily reflect Gnostic influences, although Gnostics also held docetic views about Christ.[1] Some of the apparently-docetic traits in the apocrypha were probably not considered heretical when they were written.[2] In a few

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idem, Hom. 15.4 on Jeremiah (PG 13, col. 433); Jerome, On Micah 7.6 (PL 25, cols. 1221f.).

[1]A. Fortescue, "Docetism," in J. Hastings, ed., Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, IV (Edinburgh, 1924), 833, stated that docetism was always based upon the idea that matter is evil; therefore "all early Docetes were Gnostics." But this is untrue; docetism did not necessarily result only from Gnosticism (cf. Hort, Judaistic Christianity, pp. 186f.). It could also result from a modalistic conception of the Trinity (cf. Findlay, Byways in Early Christian Literature, p. 204). AJn 54 indicates that the docetism in AJn is not based upon a Gnostic view of matter as evil.

[2]Cf. Findlay, op. cit., p. 90: "The doctrinal standards of the fourth century were much more rigid

cases scholars studying the apocrypha have called some traits docetic that are not docetic at all.[1]

But the picture of Christ in the Acts of John is clearly docetic:[2] the work denies that Jesus ever ate or left a footprint.[3] In the Epistle of the Apostles a section apparently directed against docetic teaching

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than those of the second, and what was counted heretical by Eusebius might very well have passed without censure in orthodox communities of an earlier day. We have, in fact, reason for believing . . . that the docetic traits found in the [Gospel of Peter] . . . would have caused no offence to second-century Christians in catholic circles."

[1]Some writers considered the presentation of Jesus in Inf. Tho. docetic, and they supposed that the work had originated in Gnostic circles (cf. above, p. 114 n. 1). But the supposed Gnostic traces (cf. Meyer in Apok 1, p. 64) are explainable on hypotheses other than that of Gnostic origin; those who postulated a Gnostic origin had to assume a later catholic revision of the work (e.g. Meyer, in Apok 1, pp. 65f.). At most Inf. Tho. emphasizes Jesus' divinity at the expense of his humanity, but this falls short of demonstrable docetism.

[2]See AJn 93.

[3]AJn 93 also states that Jesus, when touched, sometimes felt solid and sometimes seemed not to be there at all. This teaching was "in the traditions" according to Clement of Alexandria, Adumbr. ad I Jn. 1.1. Some of the NT writers deliberately combatted docetic teachings; note especially the 4th Gospel and I Jn. Cf. also Ignatius, cited by Jerome, De vir. ill. 16, "Feel me and see that I am not a bodiless demon"; compare Origen, De princ. 1. Prol. 8.

states that Christ's feet did leave footprints.[1] Perhaps relevant is the fact that the Psalmist had stated that God's footprints are unseen.[2]

The Acts of Peter attempts to maintain a balance between the ideas of the humanity and divinity of Christ by describing him in paradoxes.[3] Some of its statements could seem docetic out of context,[4] but it seems probable that the writer of the Acts of Peter did not have a docetic conception of Christ's person.[5] III Corinthians probably combatted a docetism that was an

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[1]EpAp 11; Christ cites an apocryphal prophet who says that phantoms do not leave footprints.

[2]Ps. 77.19; cf. LXX, τὰ ἴχνη σου οὐ γνωσθήσονται. It is possible that EvTr 37.24-29 is related to this idea.

[3]See APe 20.

[4]E.g. the statement that Christ "manducavit et vivit propter nos, ipse neque esuriens neque sitiens."

[5]Lipsius, Apk. Apg. II.1, 264f., cited APe 20 as an example of the docetism found in AJn. APe does show traces of modalistic conceptions and may lean toward docetism, but it is doubtful that any expression in it ought to be called "ganz und gar doketisch" (G. Ficker in Handb., p. 448). In a more clearly catholic context Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 6.9.71, wrote that "He ate not for the sake of his body, which was sustained by a holy power, but that other thoughts about him might not enter the minds of his companions." The "other thoughts" were presumably docetic ideas.

integral part of a full Gnostic system.

According to the Gospel of Peter, Jesus cried out when he was dying, "My power, (my) power, you have forsaken me."[1] This assertion has been taken as an indication that the author held a docetic view of Christ.[2] But the interpretation of ἐλωὶ ἐλωὶ λαμὰ σαβαχθάνι in Matthew and Mark[3] is not the only one possible. Christians reluctant to believe that God had forsaken Christ could have interpreted Christ's cry to refer not to God but to א'ל or ח'ל, either of which can mean strength or power.[4] In that case the interpretation in the Gospel of Peter could depend upon some fairly early Palestinian tradition. The Old Testament sometimes speaks of God's power as if it were separate from his person,[5] and it occasionally uses the

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[1] EvPe 19.

[2] Cf. e.g. A. Stülcken in Handb., pp. 82f.

[3] Mark 15.34. Most Mss. of Matt. 27.46 (with some Mss. of Mark 15.34) substitute ἠλί for ἐλωΐ.

[4] Cf. the discussion in Vaganay, op. cit., pp. 255f.; also A. Harnack, Bruchstücke des Evangeliums und der Apokalypse des Petrus (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 65f.

[5] Cf. Deut. 4.37; 9.29; II Chron. 20.6; Job 24.22; 26.12, 14; Ps. 78.26; Jer. 10.12 (=51.15). The same

word "power" as a circumlocution for God.[1] The Epistle of the Apostles also tends to separate Christ's power from his person.[2]

The tendency to regard Christ as an angel has already been noted and a great deal has already been written concerning this Christology.[3] The apocrypha show few direct influences of such views, although some of them do refer to Christ as an angel.[4] The opinion

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idea carries into the New Testament; cf. Matt. 24.30, par.; Luke 5.17; Acts 10.38; Rom. 1.20; Heb. 1.3. Note also the Coptic idiom ⲟⲩⲛ ϭⲟⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ (he can, he is able).

[1]Cf. Micah 3.8; Ps. 21.13; also Mark 14.62 (=Matt. 26.64; cf. Luke 22.69); Luke 1.35; I Pet. 1.5; II Pet. 1.3.

[2]Cf. EpAp 15, where Christ is to send his power in the form of Gabriel to rescue a disciple from prison; cf. also the refs. to his power in EpAp 21, 30. Also note Simon's claim to be the power of God (APe 31 et passim).

[3]Cf. above, pp. 232f.

[4]In Inf. Tho. 7.4 and 17.2 (Gk A) the onlookers state that Jesus must be either God or an angel. In APi 15.3 Joseph of Arimathaea thanks God for sending him an angel for protection, but in APi 15.6 Joseph indicates that it was Jesus who delivered him. In AJn 76 a νεανίσκος εὔμορφος is called an ἄγγελος θεοῦ; such appearances are generally considered appearances of Christ. In some cases ἄγγελος may mean simply messenger; cf. above, pp. 226f.

In EpAp 14 Christ appears as Gabriel, but there he simply appears in the form of another being; he is

that Christ was an angel probably developed ultimately from Jewish ideas. Neither in the Old Testament nor in early Judaism was a sharp distinction always maintained between God and his angels; angels were considered primarily an extension of God's own personality. Early Jews consequently thought that angels had existed before the creation; only later did the rabbis teach that angels had come into being during the week of creation.[1] Early Christians assigned to Christ some of the functions fulfilled by angels, and this process inevitably caused the figure of Christ to become merged with some of the angels.[2] Jewish thought had vacillated

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not himself identified with Gabriel; cf. Michaelis, Zur Engelchristologie im Urchristentum, pp. 154f. EvTho 13 may reflect an acquaintance with the idea of an angel Christology; cf. Schippers, Het evangelie van Thomas, pp. 72ff.; Grant-Freedman, The Secret Sayings of Jesus, p. 126. Cf. also Justin, Dial. 61, 126.

[1]See Marmorstein, The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God, I, 214f., and the refs. there.

[2]Note that Christians considered Christ the intercessor (cf. Heb. 7.25; I Tim. 2.5; Pistis Sophia 142) while Jewish thought had regarded angels, usually Michael, as intercessors (I En. 40.6, 9; T. Levi 5.6; T. Dan 6.2); cf. Bietenhard, Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum, pp. 135ff. Ass. Mos. 10 teaches that Michael, rather than the Messiah, would bring about the restoration of all things--a possible indication that Jewish thought was already merging the

between a belief in six and seven archangels;[1] Jewish Christians could resolve the difference by considering Christ the highest of seven archangels, yet unique and separate from them.[2]

Later speculation concerning Metatron indicates that even in late Judaism a careful distinction was not always maintained between God and the highest of the angels. Metatron was even called the "lesser Yahweh."[3]

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two figures. Michael was thought of as a priest who conducted a heavenly service at a heavenly altar (cf. e.g. B. Hagigah 12b; B. Zebahim 62a); in the epistle to the Hebrews Christ has this function. Cf. Bietenhard, op. cit., pp. 123-37; note also EpAp 13.

[1]Seven archangels: I En. 20 (Gk); 90.21; Tobit 12.15. Six archangels: I En. 20 (Eth); Targum of Jerusalem on Deut. 34.6 (cited by Lueken, Michael, p. 37); T. Levi 8 (cf. the various Mss. at this point).

[2]Cf. Hermas, Sim. 9.6.1f.; 9.12.7f.; the writer sees a tall man (Christ) and with him six other men (archangels; cf. also Hermas, Vis. 3.4.1). The writer obviously thought of Christ as an angel; cf. Michaelis, op. cit., pp. 156ff.; Barbel, Christos Angelos, pp. 230-33. Cf. also Epiphanius, Pan. 30.16, on the Ebionites. Werner, Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas, pp. 345f., noted that Christians agreed that Christ could be called both God and an angel; disagreement arose over the question of which term designated his true essence.

[3]III En. 12.5; 48.7c. On Metatron cf. Odeberg, 3 Enoch, or the Hebrew Book of Enoch, pp. 76-146. Metatron's name is like that of God himself (B. Sanhedrin 38b). All others stand before God, but

In the Apocalypse of Abraham the angel Jaoel is said to have the power of the Name,[1] and God himself is also addressed as Jaoel;[2] these two facts probably indicate that the name Jaoel was a substitute for the ineffable name and that the angel Jaoel was considered a manifestation of God. The Enoch literature shows that Jews could think of a human being as having angelic or divine attributes,[3] and Enoch was even identified with Metatron.[4] With such a background Jewish Christians could easily have considered Jesus a man, a divine

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Metatron sits--a fact which made one visitor to heaven think there were two Gods (B. Hagigah 15a).

[1] Apocalypse of Abraham 10.

[2] Apocalypse of Abraham 17.

[3] Enoch's wisdom seems equal to God's when he is able to see the whole of God's universe (I En. 14-26; II En.) and knows the history of Israel from beginning to end (I En. 83-90). Bietenhard, op. cit., p. 144, called Enoch the "Träger alles Wissens im Kosmos, des Sichtbaren und des Unsichtbaren" (emphasis his; cf. III En. 11.1f.). In II En. 22ff. Enoch is dressed to appear as one of the archangels and God reveals various secrets of the universe to him. Like Michael, and like Christ, Enoch is an intercessor (I En. 13.3ff.). He sits on a throne, as God does (III En. 10.1), and has all knowledge (II En. 40.1).

[4] In the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan on Gen. 5.24, cited by Bousset, Die Religion des Judentums im spät-hellenistischen Zeitalter, p. 353.

being, and an angel. Gnostics were probably acquainted with such ideas[1] but did not make great use of them.

Just as the Apocalypse of Abraham presents Jaoel as the bearer of the divine name, so Christians also felt that Christ bore the name of God.[2] Pre-Christian Judaism had contained a great deal of speculation on the divine name, and it may even have tended to hypostatise the name.[3] In the Gospel of Truth[4] the discussion of the name revealed by Christ strongly reflects Jewish speculation in this area.[5] It is probable that Jewish Christians brought this speculation into the church and then applied it to Christ.

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[1]Exc. Theod. 35.1. Note Tertullian's opposition to some who said that Christ's appearance was that of an angel (Tertullian, De carne Christi 14).

[2]Cf. Justin, Dial. 75; Exc. Theod. 43; EvPh 12. Note that in Exod. R. 32.4 on Exod. 23.21 God's name is in Michael.

[3]Bousset-Gressmann, op. cit., pp. 349f.

[4]EvTr 38.8-24; 39.19f., 24ff.

[5]Cf. Quispel, "Neue Funde zur valentinianischen Gnosis," ZRGG 6 (1954), 302; cf. E. Peterson, "Urchristentum und Mandäismus," ZNW 27 (1928), 84.

III. CHRIST'S MISSION AND WORK

A few of the apocrypha attribute heretical tenchings to Christ,[1] possibly in an attempt to obtain authoritative testimony to the validity of heretical doctrines. But most apocrypha, when they purport to give the words of Jesus, take their material directly from the canonical Gospels with only minor alterations; and sometimes an apocryphon will attribute to Christ teachings derived from the Old Testament or from the New Testament epistles.[2] Papias attributed to Christ a vivid account of the abundance to come during the millenium.[3] His description is related to Jewish accounts of the age to come[4] and is evidently reflected in at least one Christian apocryphon.[5] Christian

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[1]Cf. EvEb, cited by Epiphanius, Pan. 30.16, 22, and the Gnostic systems attributed to Jesus in ApJn, SJC, Pistis Sophia, etc.

[2]Cf. e.g. I Cor. 2.9, which a number of writers attribute to Christ (including EvTho 17 and APe 39). Cf. J. H. Ropes, Die Sprüche Jesu, die in den kanonischen Evangelien nicht überliefert sind (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 19-22.

[3]Cited in Irenaeus, Haer. 5.33.3.

[4]Cf. II Baruch 29.5; I En. 10.19.

[5]Encomium on John the Baptist 14b-15a (Budge,

millenial teaching presumably originated in Jewish-Christian circles,[1] and so, probably, did Papias' description of the coming age.

Varying doctrinal tendencies in the apocrypha become most evident when they discuss the death and resurrection of Christ. Gnostic works such as the Apocryphon of John or the Sophia Jesu Christi give the cross and the resurrection no part. Apocryphal writers who lay heavy stress upon Christ's defeat of Satan and Hell tend to regard the cross as simply a doorway into Hell.[2] Such an emphasis could have led to a minimising of Christ's sufferings without presupposing a docetic understanding of his person. This fact may explain some of the apparent docetism in the Gospel of Peter, where Jesus' suffering on the cross is not mentioned[3] and

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Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt, p. 142).

[1]On Jewish-Christian chiliasm cf. Daniélou, Théologie du judéo-christianisme, pp. 342-49; Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums, pp. 82-87.

[2]In Desc. Christ's death has no significance at all, except that it brings him into Hell; cf. also EvBarth 1.6-9 and BoRe 1a-5b.

[3]EvPe 10 mentions that Jesus kept silence on the cross, as if he felt no pain (Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐσιώπα ὡς μηδὲν

where the emphasis is upon his preaching to the dead[1] and upon his resurrection and exalted.[2]

The Acts of John does present a docetic portrayal of Christ's suffering upon the cross.[3] In that work John tells that during the crucifixion he went up to the Mount of Olives and there spoke with Jesus.[4] The

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πόνον ἔχων; on the question of μηδὲν πόνον cf. Vaganay, L'évangile de Pierre, p. 236). The silence does not necessarily imply a docetic understanding on the part of the writer (see Stülcken in Handb., p. 81); Origen stated, with reference to Jesus' treatment before the crucifixion, "in his omnibus unigenita virtus nocita non est, sicut nec passa est aliquid" (Origen, Veteris interpretationis in Matt. 125; PG 13, col. 1776).

The ref. to silence was probably influenced by Isa. 53.7. Note also that a sheep used by modern Samaritans for the Passover sacrifice must make no sound when it is killed; if it cries out it cannot be used (Farmer, We Saw the Holy City, p. 200). It is possible that the writer of EvPe was influenced by such considerations.

Bieder, Die Vorstellung von der Höllenfahrt Jesu Christi, p. 131, evidently thought that EvPe had a Gnostic background, with its supposed docetism, its speculation on the cross, and the "Reisengrösse" of the three men in EvPe 40. But none of this is demonstrably Gnostic; cf. Vaganay, op. cit., pp. 236f.

[1]Cf. EvPe 42.

[2]Cf. EvPe 35-40, where Christ rises directly from the grave into heaven. The extant fragments of EvPe give no indication of any resurrection appearances, although the work doubtless contained some.

[3]AJn 97ff.

[4]Jesus only appeared to be on the cross below

account states that Jesus showed John a cross of light, a cross which is sometimes called λόγος, sometimes νοῦς, sometimes Jesus, Christ, door, way, bread, seed, resurrection, Son, Father, Spirit, ζωή, ἀλήθεια, πίστις, and χάρις.[1] But, it adds, these are only the names revealed to men;[2] the true reality of the cross has to do with the fact that it separates what is below from what is above, left from right, and that it establishes what is unstable.[3]

It seems evident that there is some connexion between this section of the Acts of John and valentinian

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while he was really on Olivet with John. The writer probably did not think someone else had been substituted for Jesus at the crucifixion (cf. Henneoke in Apok 1, p. 428; note the teaching of Basilides, in Irenaeus, Haer. 1.24.4), since AJn 101 attributes some significance to the mysterious suffering of Christ and AJn 102 indicates that the crucifixion had a symbolic meaning. The writer evidently felt that the whole crucifixion had taken place only in appearance; cf. Bauer, Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen, p. 239; Findlay, Byways in Early Christian Literature, pp. 228f. Michaelis, in ApzNT, p. 266, said that Christ's "irdische Doppelgänger" (cf. AJn 92) was crucified. But in AJn the human Jesus and the divine Christ are never separated; cf. Bauer, loc. cit.

[1] AJn 98.

[2] For a distinction between the name of a thing and the thing itself cf. also EvPh 11f.

[3] AJn 98, 99.

thought.[1] But in spite of a kind of dualism in the book,[2] there is no evidence that the writer of the Acts of John rejected matter, the world, or the creator of the world as evil or even grossly inferior. The work presents Christ's suffering upon the cross as unreal only in that ordinary men misunderstand it; in a much deeper sense the λόγος really is hung up, nailed, pierced--is wounded, suffers, and bleeds.[3] The book states that what appeared to be physical suffering upon a cross was intended to lead men to this greater truth

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[1]Cf. Apk. Apg. I, 523ff. Note the Valentinian teaching about σταυρός-ὅρος, and note that Irenaeus, Haer. 1.1.1, mentions the Father, χάρις, νοῦς, ἀλήθεια, λόγος, and ζωή. Irenaeus, Haer. 1.15.2, equates Christ, Jesus, Son, and Way, while Hippolytus, Elench. 6.35-37, has an equating of Spirit with λόγος as well as the more familiar Spirit=Sophia equation. Other examples of the use of these terms among Gnostics could be multiplied. For an equating of Sophia with πίστις cf. Pistis Sophia; SJC 103.7-9; Hyp. Arch. 135.7f.; 143.6; OrWor 146.13f.; also the unpublished Epistle of Eugnostos (Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, p. 194). On Stauros-Horos cf. Baynes, A Coptic Gnostic Treatise contained in the Codex Brucianus, pp. 46-48; χάρις occurs a number of times in the same writing.

[2]There is a dualism of upper and lower (AJn 100), and there are left hand powers which include Satan and the demons (AJn 114).

[3]AJn 101.

and into salvation.[1] Aside from this docetism, the Acts of John contains no definite trace at all of any Gnostic doctrine.[2] So if there was some relationship between Valentinian speculation and that in the Acts of John, it seems most likely that the Valentinians used the type of thought reflected in the Acts of John; it is difficult to assume that the apocryphal writer borrowed numerous typical Valentinian expressions and yet managed to avoid presenting any truly-Gnostic ideas.[3]

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[1]AJn 102. AJn 103 gives the point of John's description of Christ: let us worship, John says, not with any part of our body but with our soul, and let us realise that he is over prisons, scourgings, etc., that we endure; know that he suffers when we suffer and that he hears our prayers.

This emphasis probably derived from a period when Christians were actively persecuted; the docetism was meant to teach Christians that Christ was above suffering (and could thus help those who endured it) and yet that he constantly shared the suffering of Christians. Cf. AJn 101, where Christ speaks about the apparent crucifixion: ἄκουεις με παθόντα καὶ οὐκ ἔπαθον, μὴ παθόντα καὶ ἔπαθον. He adds that what is said of him did not happen, but what people do not say he did suffer (πεπονθέναι).

[2]AJn rejects sexual relations, but this trait was not peculiar to Gnostics; see below, pp. 330ff.

[3]This remark also applies in some degree to EvTr (cf. van Unnik, "The 'Gospel of Truth' and the New Testament," F. L. Cross, ed., The Jung Codex, p. 98; also see below, pp. 323f.). AJn dates from about the same period as EvTr (about A.D. 150). Neither work

A number of apocrypha show a special interest in the cross. In the Acts of John a cross of light is evidently considered the basis of all things, and it is identified with God.[1] In the Gospel of Peter the cross answers a heavenly voice which asks, ἐκήρυξας τοῖς κοιμωμένοις.[2] It is difficult to determine the precise role of the cross in that work, but the cross is evidently of great importance.[3]

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rejects the creator or the material world as evil and neither presents a Gnostic cosmology. Both use terms found in Gnostic systems, but they do not use them in a strictly-Gnostic fashion.

[1]AJn 98.

[2]EvPe 39-42. The text is corrupt in a few spots but the sense is clear.

[3]EvPe 39-42 states that before Jesus rose from the dead two young men entered the sepulchre; then three men of great height came out of it, two of them sustaining a taller man. A cross followed them; when a heavenly voice asked, "Did you preach to those who slept?" the cross answered, "Yes."

The two young men who entered the sepulchre are probably two of the three who came out of it; they are presumably angels, perhaps Michael and Gabriel. The identification of the third is more difficult. If he is Christ, it is difficult to understand why at his resurrection he must be sustained by the two angels, or why the cross should answer a question directed at Jesus (for the identification of the taller man with Christ cf. Vaganay, op. cit., p. 303).

It is possible that the tallest man is not Christ but Adam. Traditions of his superior height were well

The cross in the Acts of John separates what is above from what is below;[1] this apocryphon also distinguishes between what is on the right hand and what is on the left.[2] Very early, it seems, some connexion must have been made between the symbol of the cross and the idea of separating right from left and above from below. The Acts of Peter, in a passage related to that in the Acts of John, refers to the cross and then quotes Jesus as saying that one must make the things above like those below, the things on the left hand like those on the right, and those on the right like those on the left.[3]

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known among early Christians (see above, p. 213), and the accounts of Christ's descent into Hell mention that the angels led Adam into Paradise (cf. Desc. 9, Lat A and Gk; EvBarth 1.21f.). Then the cross in EvPe would be Christ himself, as in AJn 98; that would explain why the cross answers a question directed at Christ.

[1] AJn 99. The text has οὗτος οὖν ὁ σταυρὸς . . . διορίσας τὰ ἀπὸ γενέσεως καὶ κατωτέρω.

[2] AJn 98, 114.

[3] APe 37f.; the cross is important, but it is different from the wooden cross people see. The corresponding Gk section of MPe adds that its significance is connected with Christ's passion. Peter tells his audience to understand Christ and salvation, but not with their eyes and ears. In APe (unlike AJn and perhaps EvPe) the cross is not identified with Christ. AAn (Greg) 20 also uses the symbol of Christ as the cross with reference to the impending martyrdom of

The Martyrdom of Andrew describes in detail the function of the cross in establishing what is unstable and putting to flight the power of the evil one on the left hand, etc.[1] Some other apocrypha quote as a saying of Christ a statement to the effect that one must make what is above to be below, and what is left to be right, etc., with reference to the cross.[2] A number of

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Andrew; the text says that John takes the form of a cross, but it probably should be Christ (cf. ApocNT, p. 344).

[1] MAn 14, in Aa II.1, 54f. (ApocNT, p. 359).

[2] Cf. APh 140 (possibly dependent upon APe 37f.); see also Hippolytus, Comm. on Daniel 4.39. EvTho 22 enlarges this saying and omits any ref. to left and right while retaining the ref. to what is above and below; it also omits any ref. to the cross (cf. also EvPh 69). EvTho 22 evidently couples the ref. to what is above and below to a saying from EvEg cited by Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 3.13.92; cf. II Clement 12.2 and the allusion in ATho 147. Lipsius, Apk. Apg. II.1, 268, assumed a connexion between the agraphon in APe 38 and that in EvEg (so also Hennecke in Handb., p. 16, and James in ApocNT, p. 11). Grant-Freedman, The Secret Sayings of Jesus, p. 75, were more cautious and referred simply to "a fairly homogeneous group of sayings."

But in fact the relationship is highly questionable. The saying in APe and APh has nothing in common with that cited by Clement of Alexandria. Only part of the citation in II Clement is common with the citation from EvEg; it is the other part which is common with that in ATho 147. The only element common to all of these is the idea of reversing opposites (an idea found also in Barnabas 6.13 and in Matt. 20.16); none of the

apocryphal references to the cross indicate that the cross was thought to have special powers.[1] Some of these references may be related to the early use of the sign of the cross,[2] a use that may have come from Judaism into Jewish Christianity.[3]

Some of these references may be related to Gnostic teaching about ὅρος-σταυρός. In the Valentinian system ὅρος was to support (στηρίζειν) and to separate

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particulars are the same. It is more probable that EvTho 22 conflates two or more sayings than that a single saying was later divided into parts which circulated separately. For doubts on the relationship between the saying in APe 38 and that of EvEg cf. Harnack, Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius, I, 13.

[1]In APh 133 people in Hell state that the cross gives them light, and a voice tells them, "I will be merciful to you ἐν τῷ φωτεινῷ μου σταυρῷ." Note the greeting of APh 129 which presupposes a special, mysterious meaning to the crucifixion: τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ κρεμασθέντος ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται μεθ' ὑμῶν. In APh 138 Jesus makes in the air a cross of light that reaches into the abyss.

In MMatt 26 a child (i.e. Christ) is preceded by a cross that comes from the depths of the sea. In EpAp 16 Jesus states that at his second coming the sign of the cross will go before him.

[2]Cf. e.g. Abdias 7.4 (Matthew crosses himself before meeting some dragons); 8.7 (an angel makes the sign of the cross before making a devil appear); EpAp 31 (Paul's eyes are healed by the sign of the cross).

[3]Cf. Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 401-03; Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 385f.

the aeons from the Father,[1] and it was called σταυρός, λυτρωτής, καρπιστής, ὁροθέτης, and μεταγωγεύς.[2] It has been argued that references to the cross in the apocryphal Acts reflect Gnostic teaching.[3] The idea of left and right hand powers is found in Gnostic systems as well as in the apocryphal Acts,[4] but there are significant differences between Valentinian ideas and what is in the Acts of John.[5] The cross in the Acts of John,

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[1]Irenaeus, Haer. 1.2.2; 1.3.5; cf. Exc. Theod. 42.

[2]Irenaeus, Haer. 1.2.4; cf. Hippolytus, Elench. 6.31.

[3]Cf. Apk. Apg. I, 523ff.

[4]Cf. e.g. OrWor 154.14ff.; EvTr 32.4-9 (cf. Irenaeus, Haer. 2.24.6); Irenaeus, Haer. 1.5.1; 1.6.1; Exc. Theod. 23.3; 40; Pistis Sophia 139-40 et passim. The idea is also found in Mandaean literature; cf. Drower, The Secret Adam, pp. 6, 13, 19. In EvPh 67 the cross is called "the right and the left."

Lipsius, Apk. Apg. I, 601, claimed that the sphinxes in AAnMatt 13f. indicated Gnostic influence; one is on the left and the other on the right (giving a "Kreuzessymbolik"), and the one on the right testifies to Jesus. But this is not Gnostic teaching. Lipsius felt that opposition between left and right was Gnostic (Apk. Apg. II.2, 36), but such opposition is found in contexts wholly unrelated to Gnosticism (e.g. in Matt 25.31ff.). Lipsius seems also to have found Gnostic influence in the symbolism of the cross itself; cf. Apk. Apg. II.1, 264.

[5]AJn 98f. is more closely parallel to Valentinian teaching than refs. to the cross in the other apocrypha.

like the Valentinian ὅρος, is cosmic and divine. But in the Acts of John the cross represents the whole of the Deity, Father, Logos, Spirit, etc.; the writer presupposes no divine being above the Christ-cross. The Valentinian Horos, on the other hand, separates Sophia from the Father and acts as a boundary between the highest God and the aeons. Valentinians felt that Pistis, Christ, Aletheia, Horos, and the Father were different beings with different functions; the writer of the Acts of John felt that all are one. The Gnostic tendency was toward hypostatisation and a resultant multiplicity of aeons; the Acts of John presents a modalistic conception of a single divine being.

The distinction between the right and left hand had existed in many religions and it did not originate among the Gnostics. In the Bible and elsewhere an emphasis is often placed upon the right hand as the place of honour.[1] Almost any Christians could have felt

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[1]Regarding the emphasis upon the right hand cf. van Unnik, art. cit., p. 113 n. 1, "Indeed this is not typically Gnostic but a very common figure in the history of religion." Note especially Matt. 25.31ff., which states that the king put the sheep at his right hand and called them to inherit the kingdom; he told the goats at his left hand to depart into eternal fire.

that the cross was both a dividing and consolidating factor;[1] a Gnostic assertion that the cross separates believers from unbelievers[2] could be accepted by all Christians.[3] Of course the cross which the Gnostic systems emphasized was not the cross on which Christ died; Gnostics usually attempted to explain away the crucifixion.[4] It should be noted, however, that at

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[1]Cf. Luke 12.52f.; Sagnard, La gnose valentinienne et le témoignage de saint Irénée, p. 253.

[2]Exc. Theod. 42.1.

[3]Two ideas worked to invest the cross with cosmic significance. (1) Christ's death was regarded as of cosmic importance (cf. Col. 1.20); Paul often referred simply to "the cross" when he meant the whole of Christ's saving work (cf. I Cor. 1.17f.; Gal. 5.11; 6.12, 14; Eph. 2.16; Phil. 3.18). (2) Hellenistic thought conceived of a world-soul divided into two parts joined in the centre like the letter chi (Plato, Timaeus 36). Hellenistic Christians identified Christ, bound to the cross, with this world-soul. Cf. Justin, I Apol. 60; W. Bousset, "Platons Weltseele und das Kreuz Christi," ZNW 14 (1913), 273-85.

For a non-Gnostic view of the cross as a boundary cf. Clement of Alexandria, Paed. 3.85.3. For arguments that AJn is not Gnostic cf. Findlay, op. cit., p. 233; he states that the writer of AJn "moved in a world of ideas very similar to that of the Valentinians, but . . . it comes short of proving that the Acts of John had its origin in Gnostic circles outside the Church."

[4]For such attempts cf. Hippolytus, Elench. 7.27; Irenaeus, Haer. 1.24.4. ApJn, SJC, and other Gnostic apocrypha attribute no significance at all to Christ's crucifixion. EvTho does not mention the cross or the

least two of the writings from Nag Hammadi do show an interest in the crucifixion.[1]

The Gospel of Philip mentions "the anointing of the fulness of the power of the c[ross], which the apostles called 'the right and the left.'"[2] This work

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crucifixion, nor do, apparently, many of the other writings from Nag Hammadi.

Doresse suggested that the wood of EvTho 77 might refer to the cross; cf. Doresse, L'évangile selon Thomas (Paris, 1959), pp. 188f.; idem, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, p. 344. But no one else has followed him in this opinion. A possible parallel to EvTho 77 is in Inf. Tho. 10.2 (Gk A), ἀνάστα νῦν, σχίζε τὰ ξύλα καὶ μνημόνευε μου; cf. Inf. Tho. 9.3 (Gk B) and Inf. Tho. 8 (Lat). P. Ox. 1 puts the saying at the end of EvTho 30: σχίσον τὸ ξύλον, κἀγὼ ἐκεῖ εἰμι.

This saying about wood and stone in EvTho 77 and in P. Ox. 1 is usually considered a statement of some kind of pan-Christism (Grant-Freedman, op. cit., p. 168; Schippers, Het evangelie van Thomas, p. 118). De Santos Otero, Evangelios, p. 96, noted that the saying could be interpreted in a pantheistic way or as an orthodox expression of Christ's omnipresence (cf. Eph. 4.6).

In any case, lifting stones and cutting wood were common chores in the east and may have been considered representative of one's daily occupation. Note also that Jesus was a τέκτων (Mark 6.3), which may have indicated that he worked with both wood and stone. On the meaning of the word see Dalman, Sacred Sites and Ways, pp. 68ff.; note also the LXX of I Sam. 13.19 (τέκτων σιδήρου) and II Sam. 5.11 (τέκτονας ξύλων καὶ τέκτονας λίθων).

[1]They are EvPh and EvTr. A Coptic cross adorns the pages of one of the codices from Nag Hammadi (Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, p. 139), but that is hardly relevant here.

[2]EvPh 67.

contains a meditation or explanation of the cry from the cross[1] which states that Christ "found mercy at the cross."[2] The writer of the Gospel of Philip evidently believed that Christ really did die on the cross and that he rose again in a true, perfect flesh.[3] This belief probably distinguishes the Gospel of Philip from the apocrypha that are more characteristically Gnostic.[4]

In this respect the Gospel of Truth is also similar; it also strongly emphasizes Christ's death on

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[1] EvPh 72; cf. Mark 15.34, par.

[2] The writer mentions the resurrection and insists upon the reality of Christ's flesh, which indicates that he was referring to the crucifixion and did not presuppose speculation about Horos-Stauros. Cf. also EvPh 91 (probably to be taken together with EvPh 92), which states that Joseph planted a tree; from that tree he made the cross on which Christ, his own seed, was crucified. EvPh 92 evidently makes a contrast between this tree and the tree of life in Paradise. Note also in EvPh 125 a ref. to the cross.

[3] See EvPh 23, 72.

[4] Some statements in EvPh seem to presuppose Valentinian thought (cf. Schenke in Leipoldt-Schenke, Koptisch-gnostische Schriften aus den Papyrus-Codices von Nag-Hamadi, pp. 34f.), but the work presents no Gnostic cosmogony or Gnostic dualism. It strongly emphasizes that salvation comes through the sacraments, not because of γνῶσις. Cf. EvPh 92 and the list in Schenke, op. cit., p. 35.

the cross.[1] It mentions that Christ was nailed to a tree,[2] and its writer apparently considered that fact a significant part of the story of redemption.[3] The Gospel of Truth, like the Gospel of Philip and the Acts of John, also has a number of characteristics similar to what is found in Valentinian thought; but it does not contain any of the heretical elements basic to Gnostic systems.[4] These apocryphal works may have represented a trend of thought that eventually led towards Valentinian Gnosticism; but it is difficult to call any of them truly-Gnostic works.[5]

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[1] EvTr, like EvPh, contains no speculation about Horos-Stauros; cf. Grobel, The Gospel of Truth, p. 23.

[2] EvTr 18.24. [3] Cf. EvTr 20.25ff.

[4] Cf. Grobel, op. cit., pp. 21ff.; Quispel, "The Jung Codex and its Significance," F. L. Cross, ed., The Jung Codex, p. 53. Van Unnik, "The 'Gospel of Truth' and the New Testament," in Cross, ed., op. cit., pp. 98f., said that EvTr contains "genuine Gnostic doctrine"; but the differences he mentioned between Gnostic ideas and those in EvTr (pp. 98f., 101ff.) are profound and central. Van Unnik wrote (op. cit., p. 103), "I can well imagine an orthodox Christian of this period listening to the Gospel of Truth and hearing the 'sermon' with approval and gratitude." But note that Jonas felt that EvTr presupposes an entire Valentinian mythology; cf. his review of Malinine, Puech, and Quispel, eds., Evangelium Veritatis, in Gnomen, 32 (1960), 327-35.

[5] Grobel, op. cit., pp. 24f., said that EvTr "is

Early Christians made various attempts to describe accurately what it was that Christ had accomplished by his death. A number of the apocryphal writers wrote that he had descended into Hell to empty it of the souls imprisoned there.[1] Christians with such a view tended to regard the cross as simply a doorway into Hell; Christ, through his death, had entered Hell, bound the rulers of the underworld, and released the souls of men.[2] Various scholars have disagreed concerning the origin of this conception;[3] it is not a Gnostic idea,[4] nor is it, in its final form, demonstra-

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unmistakably Gnostic in thought and feeling--Gnostic in a wide enough sense to include some underlying presuppositions in Paul, John, Deutero-Paul, and Ignatius." It is possible to put a docetic interpretation upon the ref. to flesh in EvTr 31.5, but that does not seem the most likely interpretation. Cf. Grobel, op. cit., pp. 123 n. 331, 125 n. 334.

[1]On the doctrine of the descensus see also above, pp. 247f.

[2]Cf. Desc.; EvBarth 1.8-20; ATho 10, 156; BoRe laff. The descent is implied, without reference to any battle with Satan, in I Pet. 3.19, EvPe 42, and EpAp 27. Cf. also EvTr 20.34ff.; Grobel, op. cit., p. 69 n. 125.

[3]For a summary of the various positions held, with refs., cf. Bieder, Die Vorstellung von der Höllenfahrt Jesu Christi, pp. 6-32.

[4]Lipsius, Die Pilatus-Acten kritisch untersucht,

bly Jewish Christian. Some kind of descent motif seems to be implied in the New Testament,[1] which would indicate an early Jewish-Christian basis for the idea; but the Jewish view of Satan as a heavenly being would have led Jewish Christians to speak of a battle in heaven[2] rather than a battle in the underworld.[3] A

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p. 40, said that Desc. was of Gnostic origin; but he had to postulate an early catholic reworking of the Gnostic original (p. 43). On the basis of Irenaeus, Haer. 1.27.3, and Epiphanius, Pan. 42.4, Lipsius said that Marcion was the one who brought into the church the idea of freeing the imprisoned spirits from Hell. He also stated (Apk. Apg. I, 616) that the theme of the descensus was especially beliebt in Gnostic and catholic circles. But with the exception of Marcion, no known Gnostic system made any use of the idea (Bieder, op. cit., p. 131); it is probably incompatible with the teachings of most Gnostic systems. If Gnostics knew of any descensus, it was the Saviour's descent from the Pleroma to earth.

[1]I Pet. 3.19. It is not clear whether εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς of Eph. 4.9 refers to a descent into the underworld or to a descent from heaven to earth.

[2]Rev. 12.7-9; cf. Luke 10.18.

[3]Daniélou, Théologie du judéo-christianisme, pp. 257f., agreed with Bieder, op. cit., that the NT does not refer to any descent into Hell; cf. Bieder's investigation of the relevant NT passages, op. cit., pp. 33-128 (with a long section on I Pet. 3.18ff., pp. 96-120). With reference to I Pet. 3.18ff. Bieder stated (op. cit., p. 129), "Es lässt sich aber nicht sagen, ob es sich um einen Descensus oder um einen Ascensus handelt," and he added that in any case I Pet. contains no

descent is certainly mentioned in writings used by Jewish Christians,[1] but one cannot determine how far Jewish Christians developed the idea.[2]

Wherever they located Christ's battle with Satan, Christians generally used some battle imagery in stating that Christ had overcome the powers of evil and

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explicit story of events taking place between Christ's death and resurrection. But no matter what the original writer may have meant, the passage in I Pet. does state that Christ went and preached to the spirits in prison.

[1]It is in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and in Asc. Isa. Cf. Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 257ff.

[2]Evpe 42 and, apparently, I Pet. 3.19 present the idea of a descent purely for the purpose of proclamation. This view of the descent is probably Jewish Christian (cf. Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 259-64). The ideas which Bieder, op. cit., pp. 199f., felt had contributed to the doctrine (viz. speculation about Enoch, the question of the dead Israelites, and the question of what happened during the three days) are all consistent with Jewish-Christian thought. The theme of salvation for all nations may also have contributed to the idea (Bieder, op. cit., p. 200), but Jewish Christians probably debated about the salvation of the Gentiles as much as the rabbis did; cf. Sifre on Deut. 33.19 (TR 377); Sifra on Leviticus 18.4 (TR 187); Tos. Sanhedrin 13.1, 2 (TR 1930).

Refs. to the descent in T. Levi 4, T. Dan 5, and Asc. Isa. 9.16, 10.8, and 11.19 imply a conception fairly close to that of Desc.; the idea of a war in Hell carries into Irenaeus, Haer. 3.23.1 and into the Odes of Solomon. For further discussion cf. Bieder, op. cit., pp. 161-85, and Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 264-72.

death.[1] But the apocryphal Acts place very little emphasis upon Christ's death. The Acts of Thomas and the Acts of Peter mention his birth, crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension,[2] but in doing so they differ from Gnostic works and from the rest of the apocryphal Acts. The latter almost completely ignore these elements of the Gospel,[3] and even the Acts of Thomas and the Acts of Peter place little stress upon

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[1]See, in addition to the refs. to Christ's descent into Hell, EpAp 28, ATho 143 (οὗτος ὁ σφῆλας τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τὸν θάνατον βιασάμενος; cf. the textual note in Aa II.2, 250), and ATho 39 (ὁ ἀγαθὸς ποιμὴν ὁ ἑαυτὸν ἐκδοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων προβάτων καὶ τὸν λύκον νικήσας). In the NT cf. e.g. I Cor. 15.54f., Col. 2.15, and Heb. 2.14.

[2]ATho 47 (Jesus killed, dead, buried), 59 (Christ proclaimed by Scripture, crucified, raised the third day), 80 (Christ's resurrection and ascension), 143 (virgin birth), 156 (crucifixion, harrowing of Hell), 158 (crucifixion, burial, resurrection); APe 7 (virgin birth, crucifixion, death, resurrection), 23 (Christ crucified), 24 (virgin birth foretold in Scripture). None of the important apocryphal Acts mentions Christ's second coming, and aside from ATho 80 none mentions the ascension.

[3]AJn 97ff. has only the discussion of the crucifixion (mentioned above, pp. 311ff.); APh 15 mentions the crucifixion and the resurrection. But compare EpAp, which has an abundance of refs. to Christ's work; it mentions his birth (chapts. 3, 14, 19), crucifixion (9, 18f.), descent into Hell (27), resurrection (9-12, 18f., 21), ascension (18, 29, 51), second coming (16f.), and fulfillment of Scripture (19, 35).

them.[1] Presumably the writers either presupposed a knowledge of the facts of Christ's life and death or else they did not consider them central to the Gospel message. The apocryphal presentation of what Christianity is must be examined in further detail.

IV. THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

According to the apocryphal Acts, the apostles addressed large numbers of non-Christians, calling them to receive the Christian faith. Sometimes the apocryphal presentation of the apostolic message coincides with what is in the New Testament. The apocryphal accounts record that the apostles called upon their hearers to "believe in Christ," or simply to "believe"; they indicate no dogmatic content to the faith except the implied belief that Jesus is God.[2]

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[1] Childhood Gospels, Gnostic apocrypha, and apocryphal apocalypses obviously ignore Christ's death, resurrection, ascension, and second coming; it is less obvious why the apocryphal Acts, purporting to record the apostolic preaching, should omit refs. to these events.

[2] Cf. e.g. AJn 47; MPa 4; APe 10; AAn (Greg) 6, 15, 22, 25, 32; APaThec 37; AAn (Gk 808) 16; ATho 21, 37, 79; Abdias 6.14; EpAp 28; APh 25; APeAn 13; MMatt 27. See above, pp. 196-98.

Sometimes the apocrypha represent the apostles as calling upon men to turn from idolatry and sin to lives of holiness.[1] In apocrypha that emphasize the necessity of turning from sin the apostles usually give strong moral exhortations, denouncing sin and encouraging virtuous living.[2] In these respects the apocryphal writers probably depended upon the New Testament and upon an understanding of Christianity that was popular in their day.

But the morality encouraged in the apocrypha differs somewhat from that the church fathers encouraged, especially with respect to sexual morality. The writers of many of the apocryphal Acts felt that a person had to renounce completely any desire for sexual relations before he could become a Christian.[3] The

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[1] For repentance from idolatry, cf. e.g. AAn (Greg) 16, 18. For repentance as turning from former sins cf. e.g. APe 2, 17; ATho 28, 35, 58; ApPa 16f. The two were obviously considered interrelated (cf. e.g. APe 28, end; APh 119).

[2] Cf. e.g. AJn 29, 34ff.; APaThec 5f.; APe 2.

[3] Cf. the refs. below, and ἐγκράτεια (AJn 84, 107; APh 119), "abstinence" (APe 2); also APeAn 8; APh 37, 46; ATho 51, 101. AAn (Greg) probably originally had this teaching (cf. chapt. 23). Cf. also ApPa 50; APaThec 5f.

reason for the necessity to abandon sexual relations is not always clear, however. The fact that Jewish thought connected sexual drives with the yetzer ha-ra and that some apocrypha connected sexual impulses with Eve's sin in the garden has already been noted.[1]

Some of the apocryphal writers evidently felt that a Christian should renounce anything that is considered desirable in this physical world;[2] to find the values of the eternal world a Christian had to give up all interest in the present world.[3] Such ideas could have resulted from a metaphysical dualism that regarded matter as evil, but the apocrypha do not present such a view.[4] Some apocrypha indicate that the eternal world

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[1]See above, pp. 214-17, 221-25.

[2]Cf. APeAn 13; APh 3; ATho 36f., 100; Abdias 5.16; APe 17 (ut abrenuntiere possis huic praesenti saeculo); AAn (Greg) 16. This teaching could be inferred from NT passages such as Mark 10.29, par.

[3]Cf. AAn (Gk 808) 1, 15; APh 35; ATho 130.

[4]AJn 103 states that worship should be with the soul, not the body, but the writer may have thought of the body as simply inferior rather than as something evil; cf. APe 39; AAn (Gk 808) 6. Sometimes it appears that the only truly-evil things are those popularly considered valuable, such as gold; note APe 17, where touching gold would defile Peter.

is infinitely superior to the present world and that an acceptance of eternal values necessarily results in a lack of concern for lesser values.[1] With such a view any concern about sexual relationships, food,[2] clothing,[3] and wealth[4] would be considered beneath the notice of true Christians. These apocrypha did not necessarily consider temporal concerns evil, but they did present them as grossly inferior.

But some Christians definitely regarded sexual relationships as evil.[5] They apparently felt that

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[1]ATho 117, 135 (cf. ATho 144). See also AJn 34ff., 69f. This is probably the view reflected in EvTho 8, where the fisherman, once he has seen a large fish in his catch, throws away the smaller fish. There is no hint that he disposes of his smaller fish in order to obtain the larger one; he simply does not want them because of the obvious superiority of the large fish. In this respect EvTho 8 differs from Matt. 13.45f. and 13.44, but it resembles Matt. 13.47f.

[2]Hence the emphasis upon fasting; cf. ATho 29, 145; APe 5, 17, 22; APaThec 23; AAn (Greg) 28. Cf. also AAnMatt 6; ATho 5, 20, 36.

[3]APh 57; ATho 36, 88, 96.

[4]APh 57; AAn (Greg) 5, 7, 15f., 26, 30; ATho 36, 145; AAnMatt 6.

[5]Cf. APaThec 12, 17. Note also the Epistle of Titus described by de Bruyne, "Nouveaux fragments des Actes de Pierre, de Paul, de Jean, d'André, et de l'Apocalypse d'Élie," Revue bénédictine, 25 (1908), 149-60.

sexual desire was related to impulses toward hatred, jealousy, etc. They considered fornication and adultery evil, not because they existed outside marriage, but because they were an impure indulgence of fleshly lusts;[1] they felt that sexual relations within marriage were equally incompatible with Christianity.[2] Apocryphal writers with such views necessarily had the apostles preach the necessity of renouncing marriage and vowing chastity.

Also related was the emphasis Christians placed upon the idea of a marriage between Christ and the Christian; Christ was the Christian's only true love, and that love eliminated the possibility of loving someone else as in marriage.[3] Furthermore, Christians

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[1]Cf. ATho 28: all sin results from πορνεία, πλεονεξία, and the ἐργασία τῆς γαστρός. Note also ATho 84 (μοιχεία and αἰσχραὶ πράξεις). Cf. AAn (Gk 808) 5; ATho 94, 98.

[2]Cf. AAn (Gk 808) 8, which uses ἀμοίχευτος to describe someone who has renounced lawful marital relationships.

[3]AJn 58 notes that one must love Christ purely (καθαρῶς), so married couples refrain from sexual relations διὰ θεοσέβειαν (AJn 63). Cf. ATho 12, 14, 98, 117, and the extract from the Epistle of Titus (cf. de Bruyne, loc. cit.) cited in ApocNT, p. 266.

felt that the service of Christ required that a person be unencumbered with the many responsibilities of marriage: a home, food, clothing, and children, with their illnesses and problems, etc.[1]

Some of these ideas grew out of interpretations put upon certain passages within the New Testament. Jesus had not married and Paul had written that marriage was undesirable;[2] this teaching and example stood in stark contrast to the rabbinic opinion that marriage was absolutely necessary to a life of obedience to God.[3] To Jewish Christians it may have appeared that Jesus and Paul rejected the Pharisaic views and agreed with the Essenes in their rejection of marriage.[4] In any case, attempts to outlaw marriage arose early in the church,[5]

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[1]AThe 12, 61, 126. [2]I Cor. 7.8, 25-29, 32-35.

[3]B. Kiddushin 29b; Tos. Yebamoth 8.4 (TR 1210); M. Yebamoth 6.6. Cf. also Gordis, "The Knowledge of Good and Evil in the Old Testament and the Qumran Scrolls," JBL 76 (1957), 137.

[4]Josephus, Bell. Jud. 2.8.2. Rabbinic Judaism did know of holy men who, in order to receive some revelation from God, renounced sexual relationships for a definite period of time. Cf. B. Yebamoth 62a; Mekhilta on Exod. 19.15 (TR 129).

[5]Besides the apocryphal Acts, cf. I Tim. 4.3 and the refs. cited above, p. 223 n. 3.

and it is possible that Jewish Christianity made some contribution to the ascetic attitudes found in the apocrypha.[1]

The idea of a marriage between Christ and the Christian is implied in the New Testament;[2] it developed ultimately from Jewish ideas.[3] Some Gnostics made a great use of marriage imagery. The Valentinians taught that Sophia would eventually enter the bridal chamber (i.e. the Pleroma) and there meet the bridegroom (viz. the Saviour); Gnostics were to be the brides of the angels around the Saviour.[4] The Gospel of Philip uses

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[1]Note that according to Epiphanius, Pan. 30.15, the Ebionites rejected sexual intercourse. On Jewish asceticism cf. Bonservin, Le Judaïsme palestinien au temps de Jésus-Christ, II, 280-86.

[2]Cf. John 3.29; Rom. 7.3f.; II Cor. 11.2; Eph. 5.23, 31f.; Rev. 19.7; 21.9.

[3]Cf. Isa. 54.5f.; 62.5; Jer. 3.20; 31.32; Ezek. 16.32; Hos. 2.16. The image carried from the OT into Judaism, where it was said that the Torah was wedded to Israel (Exod. R. 33.7). The Song of Songs, recited in the synagogue at every Passover, was always interpreted in a strongly-Messianic sense; cf. H. Cazelles et al., Moïse, l'homme de l'alliance (Paris, 1955), p. 161.
Marriage did not connote equality between man and wife, as it does in modern western culture; a man owned his wife and she owed him every bit of her devotion and obedience. Consequently a Christian married to Christ could give no devotion to anyone else.

[4]Irenaeus, Haer. 1.7.1; cf. Exc. Theod. 63.2.

a great deal of marriage imagery. It regards Christians as the "sons of the bride-chamber"[1] and refers to the bride-chamber as one of the five mysteries of the Lord.[2] It considers the bride-chamber more sacred than baptism and redemption, just as in the temple the holy of holies was more sacred than the holy place.[3] The writer of the Gospel of Philip felt that this bride-chamber had ended πορνεία,[4] which could imply that he thought the higher bride-chamber had eliminated all sexual relationships. He also noted that the unity existing within the bride-chamber can never be broken;[5] since sexual relations in this world differ from the unity of the other world,[6] a spiritual man should keep his body pure in this life.[7]

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[1] EvPh 66, 87, 103.

[2] EvPh 68; the other four mysteries are baptism, anointing, the Eucharist, and redemption.

[3] EvPh 76. [4] Ibid.

[5] EvPh 79; sexual relations outside marriage quickly end, and earthly marriages are dissolved by death (like the marriage between Adam and Eve); but the true bride-chamber gives unending unity. In it Christ, the apostles, and the Christians received from the Father the resurrection, light, the cross, and the Holy Spirit (EvPh 95).

[6] EvPh 102; cf. Mark 12.25, par. [7] EvPh 108.

But although the writer felt that the spiritual union was infinitely greater than carnal union, it is not clear whether or not he would forbid marital relations.[1] The Gospel of Philip often refers to marriage, sexual relations, and generation, with no hint that the writer considered them evil.[2] Perhaps he felt that marriage was legitimate only among Christians,[3] even though some things he wrote seemed to disapprove of all carnal union.[4]

Gnostics differed among themselves in their attitudes toward sexual relationships: some avoided sex altogether while others seem to have made promiscuous

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[1]EvPh 113 seems to indicate that love on an earthly level makes love on a higher plane impossible. But the ref. is not necessarily to love within marriage.

[2]Cf. e.g. EvPh 112.

[3]EvPh 42 could be taken to mean that sexual relations between two Christians are acceptable, while those between a Christian and a non-Christian are adulterous.

[4]EvPh 122 compares the marriage of impurity with unspotted marriage. The latter is not fleshly but is pure, related not to lust but to the will; it does not belong to darkness and night but to the day and light. EvPh 123 states that Abraham circumcised himself to indicate that "it is necessary to deny the flesh of the worldly parts."

sexual relationships part of their sacramental system.[1] In either case marriage and sexual relations were not treated lightly but were probably taken quite seriously. Sometimes that seriousness led to a prohibition of all marriage except the one eternal marriage with Christ; in other cases Gnostics considered sexual relations to be expressions of Christian unity and love. Similar disagreements about marriage and sex existed also within the church and are reflected in the New Testament.[2] It is possible that they developed in part from the Jewish emphasis upon marriage and from the disagreements concerning marriage found among Jewish groups.

From its earliest days Christianity required that its converts be baptised.[3] At first baptism followed immediately upon the confession of Christ as Lord;[4]

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[1]Cf. Epiphanius' citation from the Questions of Mary (Pan. 26.8.2f.), which may reflect Gnostic polemic in favour of sexual relations. Some Gnostics made sexual relations part of a sacramental rite; cf. Fendt, Gnostische Mysterien, pp. 3-29. On the various Gnostic attitudes toward sexual relations cf. above, pp. 40f.

[2]Cf. Paul's discussion on the subject in I Cor. 7; note also I Tim. 4.3.

[3]Even, sometimes, the pre-Christian dead; cf. Desc. 11 (Lat A, Gk).

[4]Acts 2.38, 41; 8.12, 36-38; 9.17f.; 10.46ff.;

later Christians were advised to put off baptism until they had been thoroughly grounded in the faith.[1] The apocryphal Acts apparently reflect a period when there was no unity of practice on this point. Sometimes they state that the apostles baptised converts immediately;[2] at other times they indicate a period of testing or instruction.[3] The Acts of Paul and Thecla contains an extreme presentation of the latter emphasis: Thecla, having renounced marriage,[4] received Paul's teaching[5] and allowed herself to be burned alive for her faith;[6] but she was still not allowed to be baptised.[7] When she went a second time to martyrdom she finally baptised herself at the last moment.[8]

16.33; 19.5; 22.16.

[1]Cf. e.g. Tertullian, De bapt. 18.

[2]AAn (Greg) 4, 33; ATho 121, 131f.; APh 36, 44; APeAn 21; MMatt 8.

[3]E.g. ATho 26; APh 63; APe 5 (note also the terms "neophytes" and "catechumens" in APe 2, 4). Cf. also Clem. Rec. 3.67; Didache 7.1, 4.

[4]APaThec 9, 10. [5]APaThec 7, 18.

[6]APaThec 20-22; she is miraculously saved from the fire.

[7]APaThec 25. [8]APaThec 34.

The practice of delaying baptism until after considerable instruction probably developed as soon as the Gospel spread beyond Judaism; but the emphasis upon testing and proving oneself may be more closely related to the idea that post-baptismal sin cannot be forgiven. The Essene practice of requiring a period of initiation for prospective entrants into the sect[1] could also have affected early Christian practice at this point.

Some apocrypha reflect the practice of anointing as part of Christian initiation.[2] The anointing was probably given in immediate conjunction with baptism.[3] According to the Acts of Thomas the anointing was given just before the baptism;[4] this was also the practice among Jewish Christians[5] as well as in the eastern

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[1]Josephus, Bell. Jud. 2.8.7. Cf. also the Qumran Manual of Discipline, which give the rules for entry into the order.

[2]Cf. especially ATho 25ff., 120f., and EvPh, passim. Note also Desc. 3 (Lat A, Gk); Abdias 5.16, "chrismatis unctio."

[3]But note that ATho 26f. (Gk) seems to imply anointing without baptism.

[4]ATho 121, 132, 152, 157.

[5]Clem. Rec. 3.67; T. Levi 8.5 (cf. T. W. Manson, "Miscellanea apocalyptica III, Test. XII Patr.: Levi

churches.[1] The use of anointing oil arose early in the church[2] and was important among Gnostic groups.[3] The Gospel of Philip places a heavy emphasis upon the use of anointing oil.[4] It presents the anointing as something higher than baptism.[5] It tells that Jesus was anointed,[6] and because of the anointing he was called

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viii," JTS 48 [1947], 59); Daniélou, Théologie du judéo-christianisme, p. 379.

[1]Cf. Const. Ap. 3.16; 7.22, 42f. Note also the Syrian influences reflected in EvPh; cf. EvPh 19, 47, 53, and the comments upon these sections by Schenke in Leipoldt-Schenke, Koptisch-gnostische Schriften aus den Papyrus-Codices von Nag-Hamadi.

[2]Cf. James 5.14, which follows the Jewish practice of using oil for healing; cf. B. Pesahim 56a.

[3]Irenaeus, Haer. 1.21.3-5. Note the discussion about anointing in EvTr 36.16-27. E. Segelberg, who considered EvTr a baptismal homily, examined all the possible refs. in it to baptism, anointing, etc.; cf. Segelberg, "Evangelium Veritatis--a Confirmation Homily and its Relation to the Odes of Solomon," Orientalia Suecana, 8 (1959), 3-42.

[4]Cf. EvPh 68. EvPh 75 refers to the baptism of light and water (note the baptisms of fire and water in the NT; cf. Matt. 3.11, par., and Edsman, Le baptême de feu); cf. EvPh 24. EvPh 75 then equates the light with the anointing (cf. ATho 157, where the oil of anointing is ὁ δεικνὺς φῶς). Note also EvPh 25, "there is fire in anointing oil," and EvPh 66, which possibly refers to the use of the same oil for anointing and as fuel in lamps.

[5]EvPh 76. [6]EvPh 81, 95.

Christ; his followers, it adds, are called Christians because they are anointed.[1] The use of anointing oil among Gnostics and Ebionites and in the eastern church probably indicates that anointing oil was used for Christian initiation fairly early among Jewish Christians; this use had presumably become more widespread by the time most of the apocrypha were written.

The apocrypha reflect a variety of tendencies with respect to the celebration of the Eucharist. Some references to it mention only bread;[2] others indicate the use of bread and water.[3] The apocrypha also reflect

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[1] EvPh 95. For similar statements about the appellation "Christ" cf. Const. Ap. 3.15; Clem. Rec. 1.45. On the name "Christian" cf. E. Peterson, Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1959), pp. 64-87. It is possible that the anointing was with a mixture of oil and wine; cf. EvPh 111, where the wine does not seem to refer to the Eucharist.

[2] AJn 72, 85, 109f.; APe 5; ATho 27, 29, 133, 152; AAn (Greg) 20; Clem. Hom. 14.1. It is possible that "bread" is sometimes a designation of the Eucharist pars pro toto (G. Ficker in Handb., p. 420). But that cannot be true in every case. Other refs. to bread alone, without an explicit mention of the cup, occur in the NT (Luke 24.30; Acts 2.42, 46; 20.7; 27.35; I Cor. 10.17) and in the church fathers (e.g. Didache 14.1); cf. A. Harnack, Brod und Wasser (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 134-36.

[3] ATho 121 (Gr), APe 2.

the more common use of bread with diluted wine.[1] Christians given to ascetic practices generally favoured the use of water instead of wine at the Eucharist.[2] But other factors besides ascetic preferences may also have been involved. The use of bread and water was fairly wide spread, which probably indicates that some very early tradition justified the use of water in the celebration of the Eucharist. Recently scholars have noted that the Essene sacred meal may have provided a background for the origins of the Christian Eucharist.[3] The Therapeutae, apparently an Egyptian branch of the Essenes, also celebrated a sacred meal; but because of their ascetic tendencies they used water instead of

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[1]Note ATho 120, κρασὶν (for κρασίον?) ὕδατος; EvPh 100. Household wine was generally diluted before use; cf. Dalman, Sacred Sites and Ways, p. 232.

[2]Water was used for the Eucharist by Tatian (Epiphanius, Pan. 46.2.3), the Encratites (Pan. 47.1.7), Marcion (Pan. 42.3.3; Tertullian, Adv. Marc. 1.14), and others (Epiphanius, Pan. 61.1.2; 49.2.6; Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 1.19.96; Exc. Theod. 82). For discussion and further refs. cf. Werner, Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas, pp. 455-57; Harnack, op. cit., pp. 115-44; Fendt, op. cit., pp. 29-38.

[3]For a discussion of this see especially K. G. Kuhn, "The Lord's Supper and the Communal Meal at Qumran," K. Stendahl, ed., The Scrolls and the New Testament (New York, 1957), pp. 65-93.

wine.[1] The Hebrew Nazirites were also not allowed to drink wine.[2] With this background it is possible that a number of the Jews who became Christians maintained their earlier practice of always using water instead of wine.[3]

The ascetic tendencies reflected in the apocryphal Acts led their writers to emphasize fasting and to present the apostles as despising wealth, wearing little clothing, and encouraging converts to forsake family responsibilities. These tendencies had prece-

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[1]On the Therapeutae cf. Philo, De vit. cont. and the discussion in Bousset-Gressman, Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter, pp. 465-68. Philo, op. cit., recorded that every fiftieth day (every seventh Sabbath?) the sect celebrated a common meal using bread, salt, hyssop, and water; cf. ATho 29 (bread, oil, herbs, and salt). Bread and salt are mentioned in Clem. Hom. 14.1. Const. Ap. 5.18 prescribes bread, salt, herbs, and water as allowable during fasts; cf. APaThec 25.

[2]Num. 6.1-4. For other occasions of abstinence from wine cf. T. Reuben 1.9f.; B. Berakoth 17b.

[3]For the Ebionites cf. Epiphanius, Pan. 30.16.1; Irenaeus, Haer. 5.1.3. Also possibly related is I Tim. 5.23, "No longer drink only water." Cf. also APh 3, ATho 20. Harnack, op. cit., pp. 136ff., concluded that the earliest requirement for the Eucharist was simply something to eat and something to drink; consequently, he felt, Christians were at liberty to use almost any food and drink they chose in celebrating the Eucharist.

dents in both the Old and New Testaments, as well as in the Hellenistic world. Fasting was a regular practice among early Christians[1] and presumably among Jewish Christians.[2]

The apocryphal Acts particularly stress the New Testament teaching that Christians must not return evil for evil.[3] This emphasis probably indicates that periods of active persecution were still fresh in the memories of the apocryphal writers, and it may indicate an awareness of possible future persecutions. Persecution of Christians began with the rise of the church,[4] and it is probable that in repeatedly

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[1]Cf. Acts 13.2f.; 14.23; 27.33; II Cor. 11.27; Didache 7.4; 8.1.

[2]Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 375f. Fasting is explicitly rejected in EvTho 14; cf. EvTho 6. On fasting among the Jews cf. Bonservin, Le Judaïsme palestinien au temps de Jésus-Christ, I, 281-83.

[3]AJn 81; APa in Schmidt, Acta Pauli, p. 3* (Ms. p. 5); APe 28; AAn (Greg) 23; APh 25, 83, 131; Abdias 4.3; 6.11; 7.14; the Syriac Act of Philip (from Wright, Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, II, 69-92) cited in ApocNT, p. 452. This teaching was peculiar to Christianity; cf. Montefiore, "The Spirit of Judaism," Jackson and Lake, eds., The Beginnings of Christianity, I, 79.

[4]On the persecutions cf. Frend, "The Persecutions: Some Links between Judaism and the Early Church," JEH 9 (1958), 141-58.

forbidding Christians to return evil for evil the apocryphal Acts reflect one of the emphases common in the apostolic teaching. In this respect the apocryphal Acts evidently reflect a period when persecution was not unknown and when Christians required constant exhortation to love and forgiveness of their enemies. Gnostics apparently did not face persecution as much as more orthodox Christians did,[1] although the Marcionite churches provided a number of martyrs.[2]

V. THE CHURCH, JUDAISM, AND THE APOSTLES

The canonical book of Acts makes no mention of most of the apostles after it focuses its attention upon Peter and Paul.[3] An early Christian tradition stated that the apostles divided the world up into various regions and that each apostle took one of these regions to evangelise.[4] This tradition is reflected in a number

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[1]Cf. Irenaeus, Haer. 4.33.9; 5.18.5.

[2]HE 5.16.21

[3]After recording Saul's conversion (Acts 9.1-9), the writer of Acts mentions, of the 12 apostles, only Peter (Acts 9.32 to 11.18; 12.3-17; 15.14) and James "the brother of John" (Acts 12.2).

[4]This tradition apparently grew up among Jewish

of the apocrypha, particularly the apocryphal Acts.[1] Local interest in any particular apostle would tend to make him more noteworthy than the rest of the apostles and would cause numerous wonder tales to cluster about his name. Some apocryphal Acts seem to be based upon collections of such tales instead of being a single story by one writer.[2]

F. C. Baur and the Tübingen school considered Peter the representative of Jewish Christianity and Paul the leader of the Hellenisers.[3] The pseudo-Clementine writings present Peter as an exponent of Ebionite views, but other apocrypha do not connect Peter with Jewish Christianity. James, as head of the Jerusalem church, was a more significant representative of Jewish Christianity; the importance attributed to him in the

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Christians; cf. Apk. Apg. I, 33.

[1]Cf. ATho 1; APh 30-32, 94f.; AAnMatt 1. This tradition is also mentioned in most of the narratives of Mary's assumption.

[2]APh is obviously such a collection; APa (including APaThec), AJn, and ATho seem also to be based upon such collections.

[3]Cf. Baur, Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi; idem, Das Christenthum und die christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte, pp. 41-158.

Gospel of Thomas may have resulted from Jewish-Christian influence.[1] Gnostics often emphasized John or Mary Magdalene, probably because of New Testament statements implying that Jesus was especially close to them and that he might have revealed things secretly to them.[2]

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[1]EvTho 12 refers to "James the just, for whose sake heaven and earth came into being." For similar statements (but not about James) in a specifically Jewish context cf. Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, V, 67f. R. M. Grant, "Notes on the Gospel of Thomas," VC 13 (1959), 172, felt that in EvTho James is an anti-Jewish figure. Munck, "Jewish Christianity in Post-Apostolic Times," NTS 6 (1959-60), 106, noted that James in Acts 15 and in Acts 21.18ff. disagreed with the Judaising Christians; but James might still have been considered representative of Jewish Christianity as a whole.

According to van Unnik, "The Origin of the Recently Discovered 'Apocryphon Jacobi,'" VC 10 (1956), 154, the Jung Codex Apocryphon of James is neither Jewish Christian nor Gnostic; so a single ref. to James cannot in itself indicate Jewish-Christian influence. James was a prominent figure to certain Gnostics; the library from Nag Hammadi contains 3 works attributed to him, and he is given a special place in the Nag Hammadi Gospel of the Egyptians (cf. Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, p. 237).

For the Jewish-Christian exaltation of James cf. EvHe cited by Jerome, De vir. ill. 2; note also the Clem. epistles to James, and Clem. Rec. 1.68-70. Prot is attributed to James (Prot 15.1) and I Cor. 15.7 mentions particularly that the risen Christ appeared to James.

[2]Cf. ApJn, EvMar, and Pistis Sophia 96. In the NT Mary is the first to see the risen Lord (Matt. 28.1-10; cf. John 20.11-18; Mark 16.9); note also the affection Mary, sister of Martha, showed Jesus (Luke

Peter's opposition to Mary in some of the Gnostic apocrypha[1] may possibly represent a Jewish-Christian or even catholic hostility to Gnosticism; but it is more probable that these apocrypha were primarily influenced by the Gospel representations of Peter as outspoken and impetuous.[2]

The apocryphal Acts, together with apocrypha that report post-resurrection dialogues between Christ and his disciples, mention one or more of the apostles;[3] but most of the apocryphal Gospels almost completely ignore the existence of the apostles.[4] For some of them the reason is clear;[5] but it is extremely difficult to

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10.39, 42; John 11.2, 5; 12.3). John 13.21-26 indicates that Christ told John secrets kept from the rest of the apostles.

[1]EvMar 17.15ff.; Pistis Sophia 36, 146.

[2]Cf. Matt. 14.28ff.; 15.15; 16.16 (par.), 22 (par.); 17.4 (par.), 24ff.; 18.21; 19.27 (par.), 26.33-35 (par.), 74 (par.); Mark 11.21; Luke 5.8; 8.45; 12.41; John 6.68; 13.6ff., 36f.; 18.10; 21.7, 15-21.

[3]Cf. e.g. EvBarth, HiJos, SJC, ApJn, EpAp.

[4]An exception is EvEb, which relates the call of the apostles (Epiphanius, Pan. 30.13). Note that its list of the apostles omits Thomas, Matthias, and Philip --the three considered of most importance in Pistis Sophia (cf. Doresse, op. cit., 221f.).

[5]Childhood Gospels (e.g. Prot and Inf. Tho.) have

understand why the Acts of Pilate should almost completely omit any reference to the apostles. At one point the Acts of Pilate introduces twelve men who testify on behalf of Jesus,[1] but all twelve are devout Jews and their names do not correspond to the names of the apostles listed in the New Testament.[2] It is not clear whether or not the writer considered them followers of Jesus.[3] The book refers collectively to disciples of Jesus;[4] but only once does it refer to the apostles, and then only in passing.[5] It is difficult to account for this apparent suppression of the role of the apostles. Perhaps the writer felt that they had fled to

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no place for the apostles; EvPe is too short in its extant portions to allow for any ref. to the apostles.

[1] APi 2.4-6.

[2] Cf. APi 2.4; Matt. 10.2-4; Mark 3.16-19; Luke 6.14-16. Only Jacob and Judas are common to APi and the Gospel lists.

[3] APi 9.1 would imply that they are not. But the men do not deny the Jewish charge that they are Jesus' followers (APi 2.4) and they follow the Christian (and Essene) law that forbids swearing (APi 2.5; cf. Matt. 5.34ff.; James 5.12; Josephus, Bell. Jud. 2.8.6).

[4] APi 2.4; 13.3 (cf. Matt. 28.13); 14.1.

[5] APi 16.5 refers to the eleven μαθηταί.

Galilee after Jesus' arrest and had remained there;[1] in that case they could have had no part in the events narrated in Jerusalem.

The relationship between Christianity and Judaism was a problem in the early church; the Marcionites and the Ebionites presented radically different solutions to the problem. The Preaching of Peter regarded Christianity as a third course distinct from Judaism and Hellenism,[2] a view which gained a strong foothold in the church.[3] This apocryphal writing and others emphasized that the apostles were to preach the Gospel first in Israel and only later among the Gentiles.[4] This view

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[1]Note that APi transfers the site of Christ's ascension from the Mount of Olives (Acts 1.12) to τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Μαμίλχ in Galilee (APi 14.1). The name of the mountain caused some difficulties fairly early; cf. the variations in APi 14.1 (Lat, Copt). Perhaps a mountain was associated with the Galilean town Mammela, where there was the priestly order Chezir; the town lay on the road between Capernaum and Cana (Dalman, op. cit., p. 105). In APi all of Christ's followers seem to be Galileans.

[2]The Preaching of Peter cited by Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 6.5.41.

[3]Cf. Simon, Verus Israel, pp. 135ff.

[4]The Preaching of Peter (Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 6.5.43) indicates that the apostles were to go beyond Israel only after 12 years. Cf. Pistis Sophia 1,

could have resulted from statements in the New Testament,[1] but it does show that the apocryphal writers had not forgotten the Jewish basis of the Gospel.

Some apocrypha reflect an antagonism toward Jews, Jewish laws, and toward the God of the Jews.[2] Such antagonism is not always properly called anti-Semitism, however, since hostility toward the Jewish religion is not necessarily related to a dislike of Jewish people.[3]

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which presents an interval of 11 years between the resurrection and the ascension. The interval of 12 years is also mentioned in APe 5 and HE 5.18.14, and this corresponds to the data contained in other sources; cf. E. von Dobschütz, Das Kerygma Petri kritisch Untersucht (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 52-54.

Clem. Rec. 1.43 and 9.29 mention only 7 years. EpAp 30 seems to indicate that the message to Israel was more important than that to the rest of the world. Cf. also EvEb in Epiphanius, Pan. 30.13.3. On the various opinions about the length of time the apostles preached in Israel before going out among the nations, cf. Apk. Apg. I, 13f.

[1]Matt. 10.5f., 23; 15.24; Rom. 1.16; 2.9f.

[2]Cf. e.g. APe 1 (Christ abolished Sabbaths, circumcision, etc.); APh 15 (Christ destroyed the law, Sabbath, etc.). Many apocrypha mention the hostility of some or many Jews to Christ or to the apostles.

[3]Note that the Qumran Essenes opposed the way that religious services were conducted in Jerusalem. Jews who had lapsed from Judaism might also have had hostile feelings toward their former religion; cf. above, p. 75.

The Gospel of Peter places upon the Jews the entire blame for the crucifixion; it goes far beyond the canonical Gospels in doing so.[1] While the speeches in the canonical book of Acts mention predestination, or ignorance on the part of the people, as a cause behind the crucifixion,[2] the Gospel of Peter makes all the Jews willfully oppose the Son of God.[3] The Acts of Pilate similarly lays a heavy stress upon Pilate's innocence,[4] but its writer also recounted the actions of the Jews as proceeding from ignorance and misunderstanding rather than malice. He reflects no hostility toward Jews or the Jewish faith. A single reference in each of two apocryphal books implies extreme hostility toward Jews and Judaism,[5] but these references seem quite out of

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[1]Cf. EvPe 1f., 6-18 (where the crucifixion is performed by Jews, not Romans), 48, 50.

[2]Cf. Acts 2.23; 3.17f.; 13.27. ATho 70 blames Israel's failure to obey the law upon the evil inclination.

[3]EvPe 6.

[4]This stress upon Pilate's innocence begins in the canonical Gospels and is greatly developed in later Christian writings. Cf. above, p. 186 n. 3.

[5]Satan refers to the Jews as his "ancient people" in Desc. 4.2 (Lat A); cf. AJn 94, which states that the Jews had their law from the serpent.

keeping with their contexts.[1] The stories of Mary's assumption represent the Jews as willing to accept Christianity but hindered by Satan or by their leaders.[2] The Pauline view that all Israel would eventually receive Christianity is reflected only in the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter.[3] It is difficult to say that either Jewish-Christian or Gnostic thought definitely influenced any of this.

The Gospel of Philip teaches that a Gentile (ἐθνικός) has never had life; therefore he cannot die.[4] This sounds like a development from Jewish thought,[5] and it probably indicates a Jewish-Christian background.

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[1] In Desc. it is the OT saints whom Christ brings out of Hell; cf. above, p. 158 n. 3. AJn almost completely ignores the existence of the OT, the law, and Judaism, although AJn 112 mentions the law and the prophets.

[2] Cf. the stories of the assumption cited in ApocNT, pp. 196, 208, 214.

[3] Rom. 11.26; ApPe (Eth) 2, pp. 511f. [4] EvPh 4.

[5] R. Simon b. Yohay (first half of the 2nd century) taught that even the best of the Gentiles were worthy only of death; cf. Mekhilta on Exod 14.7 (TR 74); J. Kiddushin 66cd (TR 1590). Others taught that an Israelite was not bound by laws regarding murder and theft when the offense was committed against a Gentile; cf. Tos. Abodah Zarah 8.5 (TR 2035).

The work states that when "we" were Hebrews "we" were orphans with only a mother; as Christians "we received father and mother."[1] Here Judaism is not considered evil or wrong, but it is incomplete. The idea may be related to Paul's conception of the law as a teacher[2] and probably arose among Jewish Christians.

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[1]EvPh 6; cf. EvPh 46. [2]Gal. 3.24f.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The New Testament apocrypha, like any collection of early Christian writings, reflect differing opinions about various theological questions; a single study cannot present an adequate analysis of all of them. The discussion in the preceding pages has noted only those apocryphal teachings which may reflect a relationship between the apocrypha and Jewish-Christian or Gnostic thought. It has virtually ignored areas in which the apocryphal writers depended upon the New Testament, the Old Testament, or upon common Christian tradition--even though Jewish Christian thought is occasionally evident in these areas. The present study has concentrated more upon beliefs more nearly peculiar to the apocrypha, especially beliefs prominent in the apocrypha but absent from most of the rest of Christian tradition. It is in these areas that the question of possible Jewish-Christian or Gnostic influence assumes some significance.

It is obvious that a writing may reflect Jewish-Christian or Gnostic beliefs without having been written by a man who was either a Jewish Christian or a Gnostic.

Such beliefs could have entered at any of several points into the streams of tradition from which apocryphal writers drew their material. Few New Testament apocrypha are Gnostic or Jewish-Christian works; it is in elements of thought they contain rather than in the books as whole units that they reflect Gnostic or Jewish-Christian influence.

Although ideas found in Gnostic systems might have influenced some apocryphal writers, it appears that few of the beliefs contained in the apocrypha have anything in common with Gnostic teachings.[1] In spite of occasional parallels between Gnostic teachings and certain beliefs reflected in the apocrypha little evidence exists to indicate any real connexion between Gnosticism and the apocrypha. These parallels probably point to a common milieu from which both Gnostics and the apocryphal writers drew their ideas.

The few points at which a closer relationship seems implied do not indicate that apocryphal writers

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[1]Some works, such as ApJn, EvMar, SJC, and Pistis Sophia, obviously originated within Gnostic circles. But most other apocrypha apparently reflect no Gnostic influence at all.

depended upon Gnostic thought, but that Gnostics developed and systematised ideas similar to those in the apocrypha and then incorporated them into Gnostic systems. A comparison between Gnostic beliefs and those reflected in the apocrypha gives no definite information about how Gnosticism originated, but it does indicate that Gnosticism did not influence the teachings found within the apocrypha.

In the Acts of John a section dealing with the crucifixion has a number of contacts with Valentinian thought, although the work at no point presents any definite Gnostic teaching.[1] The points of contact seem too definite to have resulted from simple coincidence; the work contains speculation concerning the cross, describes the functions of the cross, and presents a docetic interpretation both of Christ's person and of his passion. But the differences between Valentinian teaching and that contained in the Acts of John are extremely significant. The speculation in the apocryphal work is not simple, but it reflects none of the complexity found in Gnostic systems; it is impossible

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[1]See above, pp. 311-21.

to believe that a writer who began with Valentinian beliefs could have reduced them to the conceptions presented in the Acts of John. More probably the Acts of John reflects a kind of speculative thought which Gnostics later took and developed along their own lines.

Gnostics did not necessarily derive their ideas directly from the Acts of John; probably both the writer of the apocryphon and the originators of certain Christian Gnostic systems drew from the same well. The writer of the Acts of John repeated the ideas and traditions he learned without greatly developing them; Valentinians developed them and incorporated them into a Gnostic system. Perhaps the Gospel of Truth represents another stage in this development. This Gospel seems far removed from what Valentinianism eventually became; it may present the sort of thought once acceptable in catholic circles from which Valentinus was finally expelled.

The Gospel of Philip has almost nothing in common with the teaching in the Acts of John,[1] but it does

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[1]But compare AJn 88-90 with APh 26.

have close contacts with Valentinianism.[1] Like the Acts of John and the Gospel of Truth it contains few significant Gnostic features.[2] Its speculation is obviously more developed than that reflected in the Acts of John and the Gospel of Truth, but it contains a number of features quite out of keeping with Gnostic thought.[3] The Gospel of Philip strongly emphasizes the Jewish background of the Gospel[4] and apparently provides a definite link between Jewish Christianity and Gnosticism.

Scholars are divided in their explanations of the differences between the teachings contained in these

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[1]Cf. Schenke in Leipoldt-Schenke, Koptisch-gnostische Schriften aus den Papyrus-Codices von Nag-Hamadi, pp. 34f.

[2]It refers a number of times to archons and powers (cf. EvPh 13f., 16f., 34, 52, 77f.), draws a strong contrast between this world and the spiritual world (EvPh 7, 30, 63, 99, 122), between body and soul (EvPh 22, 62), and mentions the Gnostic Sophia (EvPh 36, 39, 55).

[3]EvPh makes no distinction between Jesus and Christ; it teaches that Joseph was Jesus' natural father (EvPh 17, 91), tells that Adam originated from earth (EvPh 83), presents a view of the resurrection of the body (EvPh 23, 72), and places some emphasis upon the crucifixion (EvPh 53, 72, 91).

[4]See above, pp. 354 f.

apocrypha and those found in Gnostic systems. Some writers have asserted that the Gospel of Truth presupposes an acquaintance with a full Gnostic mythology.[1] Lipsius felt that the Acts of John presupposed a Gnostic system,[2] and the Gospel of Philip seems to reflect a belief in a system that was fairly well developed. Scholars studying the Gospel of Thomas have assumed that that work also presupposes a full Gnostic system.[3]

But some writers have felt that the Gospel of Truth contains only an undeveloped set of ideas, some of which were later systematised and made into a complex Gnostic system.[4] This assumption may hold true in part with respect to the Acts of John and may also prove to be the most satisfactory basis for studying the Gospel of Thomas.

The Gospel of Philip differs significantly from other apocrypha; it contains speculation heavily influenced by Syrian Jewish Christianity. It was probably

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[1] See above, p. 30 n. 1.

[2] Cf. Apk. Apg. I, 523ff.

[3] See above, p. 30 n. 1.

[4] Cf. above, p. 324 and n. 4.

composed rather later than the Gospel of Thomas, Gospel of Truth, and Acts of John, but like them it evidently reflects a kind of speculation which Gnostics later worked into Gnostic systems. The Gnostics probably did not draw their ideas directly from these apocrypha; more probably the apocryphal writers were influenced by the same currents of thought which Gnostics also used and elaborated. Some of this thought originated among Jewish Christians; some of it came into Jewish Christianity from Judaism and eventually influenced both the Gnostics and the apocryphal writers. Whatever were the ultimate roots of Gnosticism--no single theory of its origin and development has yet received general acceptance--it eventually drew from the kinds of thought reflected in the apocrypha and from ideas found within Jewish Christianity.

Docetism evidently did not originate as a Gnostic doctrine; it probably developed as a Christian attempt to reconcile the belief in Christ's humanity with the assertion of his divinity.[1] But Christian Gnostics willingly accepted a docetic explanation of the cruci-

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[1]See above, pp. 300-304.

fixion and of Christ's person; it enabled them to reconcile the Christian traditions about Christ's life with Gnostic beliefs about the nature of the world. Gnostics placed little emphasis upon Jesus' earthly life; they speculated about the Saviour's nature as a heavenly being but felt that his sole purpose on earth had been to reveal to men the previously-unknown Gnostic doctrines. Although modalistic views of Christ's person were incompatible with Gnostic beliefs, modalism tended toward docetism; the docetism in the Acts of John resulted from modalistic thought rather than from Gnosticism.[1]

The Gnostics and the writers of the apocrypha laid some stress upon the difference between right and left hand powers, but an emphasis upon the opposition between right and left was widespread in the ancient world.[2] The apocryphal presentation of the existence of seven heavens also reflects no apparent Gnostic influence.[3] A belief in the existence of seven heavens was widespread throughout much of Christianity and Judaism;

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[1] Cf. above, pp. 319f. [2] See above, pp. 316-20.

[3] See above, pp. 269-71.

Gnostics simply speculated upon the inhabitants of the various heavens.

Gnostics and some apocryphal writers believed that after death the human soul had to journey past various hostile powers, but in presenting this concept the apocrypha reflect no definite Gnostic influence.[1] A comparison between the teaching in the apocrypha and that contained in Gnostic systems seems to indicate that Gnostics took a widely-held belief and developed it further. In this area the apocryphal writers went beyond what was contained in most Jewish and Christian thought, but they did not go as far as the Gnostics did. The fearful things mentioned in the apocrypha--demons, the dragon, the abyss, fire, etc.--may have originated as objectifications of the universal dread of the unknown. Gnostics defined these malevolent beings with greater precision and told their followers how to overcome them.

A close comparison between apocryphal beliefs and those in Gnostic systems shows that there is little evidence of Gnostic influence upon apocrypha that did

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[1]See above, pp. 275-81.

not obviously originate within Gnostic circles. In too many cases scholars have begun with the unexamined assumption that certain apocrypha must have been influenced by Gnostic thought; they have then noted the elements capable of a Gnostic interpretation, even when other interpretations were equally possible. In a few cases a close relationship may have existed between Gnostic teachings and beliefs reflected in the apocrypha; Gnostics may have used and developed ideas similar to those in the apocrypha, but Gnostics probably did not influence the apocryphal writers.

The apocrypha do, however, seem definitely to reflect Jewish-Christian influences. Some beliefs in the apocrypha evidently came from Judaism into Christianity; Jewish Christians presumably served as a link between the two groups. In a few instances the apocryphal writers or their Gentile sources may have been in direct contact with Judaism, but in most cases Jewish Christians probably brought these teachings into Christianity.

Most of the apocryphal views concerning angels and demons coincide with Biblical teaching or with ideas widespread among Christians, but Jewish Christians

probably brought all these ideas into the church. Judaism and the New Testament apocrypha alike taught that angels accompany men's souls into heaven[1] and that angels control the elements of nature;[2] their beliefs about Michael's functions and power also coincided.[3] The apocryphal notion that a guardian angel educates young children who have died may also have developed within Judaism,[4] as did, perhaps, the feeling that demons live in idols[5] and are driven by sexual desires.[6] The opinion that demons are black and that they often live near water may have come from Judaism, but the evidence is not conclusive.[7] Judaism and the apocryphal writers taught that God uses angels of vengeance to mete out his punishment;[8] Jews, as well as others, also believed that Hell was in the west or in the underworld.[9] Stories of Solomon's control over demons presumably originated within Judaism;[10] the view that

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[1]See above, pp. 233-35.
[2]See above, p. 244.
[3]See above, pp. 235-39.
[4]See above, pp. 241f.
[5]See above, p. 253.
[6]See above, p. 257.
[7]See above, pp. 253-56.
[8]See above, pp. 263-66.
[9]See above, pp. 267f.
[10]See above, pp. 260f.

souls on their way to God pass through a river of fire was also probably Jewish.[1]

Many people during the Hellenistic period tended to refer to God primarily in negative terms, but Jews and Gnostics more than others emphasized that no one could possibly know, see, or describe him. Gnostic negative descriptions of God might have resulted partly from Jewish ideas,[2] but it is impossible to determine whether or not Jewish Christians ever held such views. At a number of other points it is also possible that Gnostics depended directly upon Jewish thought. For example, Gnostics evidently borrowed from Judaism when they taught that God or Ialdabaoth was surrounded by a cloud of light or by water of light.[3]

A number of other concepts came from Judaism into both Gnosticism and catholic Christianity; since Jewish Christians probably introduced these teachings into Christianity, Gnostics may in these areas have also depended upon Jewish Christians. Christians and Gnostics accepted the Jewish belief that Adam was

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[1]See above, pp. 280f. [2]See above, pp. 201-06.

[3]See above, pp. 208-13.

extraordinarily large,[1] and they were also acquainted with the notion that Eve had had sexual relations with the serpent.[2] The apocryphal writers evidently accepted these ideas in much the same way that Jews and Jewish Christians did; Gnostics took over these beliefs and developed them further.

An emphasis upon the distinction between flesh and spirit existed throughout the Hellenistic world; this emphasis was found within Judaism and is reflected in the New Testament. Some apocryphal writers indicate a further development of this dualism, and the Gnostics developed the idea still further.[3] But whether there was any interdependence in this area between Judaism, the apocryphal writers, and the Gnostics is impossible to determine. The Gnostic view of the antimimon pneuma, however, may have been related to Jewish teaching concerning the yetzer ha-ra.[4] Since Christians made little use of this teaching[5] the Gnostic belief could have

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[1]See above, p. 213. [2]See above, pp. 214-17.

[3]See above, pp. 218f. [4]See above, pp. 219-23.

[5]Cf. ATho 70 (Syriac); Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 17-35.

developed directly from Jewish thought without the mediation of Jewish Christians.

The New Testament apocrypha reflect an acquaintance with some ideas that evidently originated among Jewish Christians. The opinion that Satan was an archangel who rebelled against God may possibly be one of these.[1] Few Jewish writings contain this belief; those that do also contain definite Christian interpolations or may even be Jewish-Christian compositions.[2] Jewish Christians were probably the first to consider the eighth day superior to the seventh, attempting to prove that the Lord's day was more significant than the Jewish Sabbath.[3] They may also have developed a cosmological analogy and claimed that God was in the eighth heaven, above the seven heavens of contemporary thought. The belief in an Ogdoad evidently did not antedate Christianity and was held by Christians other than

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[1] See above, pp. 261-63.

[2] Vita Adae, II En., and III Baruch all originated after the rise of Christianity. II En. especially has been considered a Jewish Christian work; see above, p. 90 n. 2.

[3] See above, pp. 272-74.

Gnostics. Probably some early Christians, presumably Jewish Christians, originated the idea and then Gnostics developed it further.

The apocryphal presentation of the journey of the soul to heaven may reflect one stage of a similar development.[1] The Christians whose thought is presented in the Ascension of Isaiah apparently believed that the soul must journey past various spiritual powers. The writers of the apocrypha presented these powers as hostile and malevolent, and the Gnostics further refined that conception.

Jewish Christians were the first to refer to Christ as an angel; this conception of Christ may not have spread much beyond Jewish Christianity. At a few points some apocrypha may reflect an acquaintance with the idea; some apocrypha refer to Christ as an angel,[2] and the apocryphal Acts attribute to Christ the functions often fulfilled by angels.[3] The Epistle of the Apostles states that Christ took the form of Gabriel, but this idea, possibly an answer to Jewish

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[1]See above, pp. 275-79. [2]See above, pp. 304-08.

[3]See above, pp. 228-33.

objections to the virgin birth, is different.[1]

Jewish apocrypha which describe ascents into heaven probably came into the church through Jewish Christianity; heavenly ascents in the New Testament apocrypha evidently depend upon Jewish or Jewish-Christian precedent.[2] Jewish Christians may have used the sort of alphabet speculation reflected in the Infancy Gospel of Thomas,[3] but there is no certain evidence to that effect. The use of Old Testament texts as testimonies to Christ originated among Jewish Christians, presumably necessitated by their discussions with other Jews. The apocrypha reflect some of this early use, although the practice of making collections of proof texts eventually became more widespread.[4]

Jewish Christians may also have originated the view that Christ's spirit spoke through the prophets; this belief quickly spread throughout the church.[5] The emphasis upon secrecy, found in some apocrypha, together with the idea that the apostolic preaching contained a

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[1]See above, pp. 184f. [2]See above, pp. 142-45.

[3]See above, pp. 151-53. [4]See above, pp. 162-75.

[5]See above, p. 155.

hidden message, probably developed from Jewish ideas.[1] Jewish Christians evidently used such ideas to explain why the Jews failed to recognise Christ. The apocryphal accounts of angelic appearances, visions, talking animals, and similar miracles probably reflected popular interest in wonder tales; but the occasional voices from heaven may have been related to Jewish concern with the bath qol.[2]

The New Testament uses a good deal of marriage imagery in referring to Christ and his followers; this imagery came partly from Judaism, and Gnostics also used it.[3] It is possible, however, that the New Testament was the source of such images in the apocrypha. Apocryphal prohibitions concerning marriage and sexual relations might have resulted from various tendencies in the Hellenistic world. Judaism had its ascetic strains and some Jewish Christians probably considered sexual intercourse undesirable or evil. But it is difficult to say whether or not Jewish or Jewish-Christian attitudes

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[1] See above, pp. 120-32. [2] See above, p. 149.

[3] See above, pp. 333-36.

influenced the apocryphal writers at this point.[1]

The practice of requiring a long period of testing before a Christian convert could be baptised coincided with Essene custom; but practical considerations, perhaps combined with a belief that post-baptismal sin could not be forgiven, may have led to this development apart from any Jewish precedent.[2] Jewish Christians apparently used anointing oil both for healing and for initiation into Christianity.[3] In the New Testament anointing oil is not connected with baptism, but the connexion arose early in the church and Jewish Christians probably had a part in it. Ascetic practices current among some Jews may have influenced the Christian use of bread and water for the Eucharist. This usage became widespread so early that some ancient precedent must have existed; certain Jewish-Christian practices may have provided that precedent.[4]

Some apocrypha teach that a long period elapsed

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[1]See above, pp. 223-25, 330-35.

[2]See above, pp. 338-40. [3]See above, pp. 340-42.

[4]See above, pp. 342-44.

between Christ's resurrection and his ascension.[1] There are no indications of Jewish-Christian influence upon this idea, but the apocryphal emphasis that the disciples had first to minister among the Jews may reflect Jewish-Christian interests.[2]

Early Jewish Christians may have said that Jesus was born in a cave, but non-Palestinian Christians put the greatest emphasis upon that tradition.[3] In the Acts of Pilate some Jews accuse Jesus of having been born out of wedlock; this accusation was common among Jews, and Jewish Christians probably met it often. Christians who believed in the virgin birth would probably not have answered it by stating simply that Joseph and Mary were married, as happens in the Acts of Pilate.[4] This incident may reflect definite Jewish-Christian influence. Those who referred to Christ as the "beginning" by which God created heaven and earth,[5] or who spoke of him as the creator[6] or the one who bears God's name,[7]

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[1] Cf. above, p. 351 n. 4. [2] See above, pp. 351f.
[3] See above, pp. 290-94. [4] See above, pp. 287f.
[5] See above, p. 297. [6] Ibid.
[7] See above, p. 308.

probably reflected ideas current in Jewish-Christian circles. The belief that the Trinity consisted of Father, Mother, and Son was probably related to the Jewish-Christian view of the Holy Spirit as Christ's mother.[1] The accounts of Christ's descent into Hell had roots in Jewish-Christian thought, but it is difficult to determine how far such ideas developed within Jewish-Christian circles. In their present form these stories have obviously developed beyond the Jewish-Christian views.[2]

In any case it is evident that genuine Gnostic influences are reflected only in unambiguously-Gnostic apocrypha. Some of the New Testament apocrypha seem to reflect a few Jewish-Christian ideas, although Jewish-Christian influence is rarely demonstrably direct. At a number of points Jewish thought influenced the writers of the apocrypha, and in some of those cases Jewish Christians probably brought Jewish ideas into Christianity.

In some points Gnostic teachings apparently

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[1] See above, pp. 299f.

[2] See above, pp. 247f., 325-27.

derived either from Jewish Christianity or directly from Judaism; it is often impossible to tell which. In a few cases a fairly-definite link between Jewish Christianity, Gnosticism, and the apocrypha seems evident; Gnostics evidently reworked certain beliefs held by Jewish Christians and by the apocryphal writers and then incorporated these ideas into their Gnostic systems.

Hegesippus indicated that some early Christians considered sectarian Jewish Christianity a contributing factor in the rise of Christian Gnosticism.[1] The Jewish sectarianism which carried into Jewish Christianity might well have contributed toward the development of Gnosticism; a comparison between some of the teachings in the New Testament apocrypha with the beliefs of Gnostics and Jewish Christians seems to strengthen that possibility. The apocrypha do not demonstrate positively that Gnosticism developed in this way, but the interrelationship between some apocryphal teachings, Jewish Christianity, and Gnosticism seems to point that direction. Perhaps further publication of the Nag Hammadi library will justify a rigorous investigation of

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[1]See above, p. 83.

the relationships between Jewish Christianity and Gnosticism.

In any case Jewish Christians held some views that coloured apocryphal stories of Christ and the apostles. The apocryphal literature preserves random indications that certain sections of the church accepted these Jewish-Christian beliefs. Christians eventually discarded or forgot some of these views, and others remained only as tenets of heretical sects; a few of these ideas were finally incorporated into Gnostic systems. In reflecting these beliefs the New Testament apocrypha preserve the thoughts of Christians the church fathers virtually ignored. They were people of little importance in the history of the church, people who expressed their beliefs only in stories about Christ and his followers. And these stories have exercised a strange fascination upon Christians from the second century to this day.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX: A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

The following list gives the approximate dates of origin for most of the apocryphal works used in this study. The dating is based primarily upon the estimates given in Hennecke, Neutestamentliche Apokryphen (third edition); de Santos Otero, Evangelios Apocrifos; and James, The Apocryphal New Testament. In some cases opinions vary considerably, so this list should be considered only an approximate guide.

Apocrypha originating during the second century.

Apocalypse of Peter (c. A.D. 135).

Infancy Gospel of Thomas (original form before A.D. 150; present form, perhaps 4th century or later).

Gospel of Truth (140-160).

Acts of John (c. 150).

Epistle of the Apostles (140-170).

Gospel of the Egyptians (after 150).

Gospel of the Ebionites (2nd or 3rd century).

Protevangelium of James (2nd or 3rd century).

Acts of Paul (160-180).

Acts of Peter (c. 190).

Gospel of Peter (150-200).

Gospel of the Hebrews.

Gospel of Thomas.

Gospel of Mary.

Apocrypha dating from the third century.

Gospel of Bartholomew (or perhaps as late as the 6th century).

Acts of Andrew.

Acts of Peter and Paul (possibly much later).

Acts of Thomas.

Apocrypha dating from the fourth century.

History of Joseph the Carpenter (or 5th century).

Acts of Pilate (perhaps later, but contains older material).

Apocalypse of Paul (based upon earlier material).

Descent into Hell.

Apocrypha dating from the fifth century or later.

Martyrdom of Andrew (date very uncertain).

Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew.

Book of the Resurrection (extant only in one 12th century Ms.).

Acts of Andrew and Matthias.

Acts of Peter and Andrew.

Martyrdom of Matthew.